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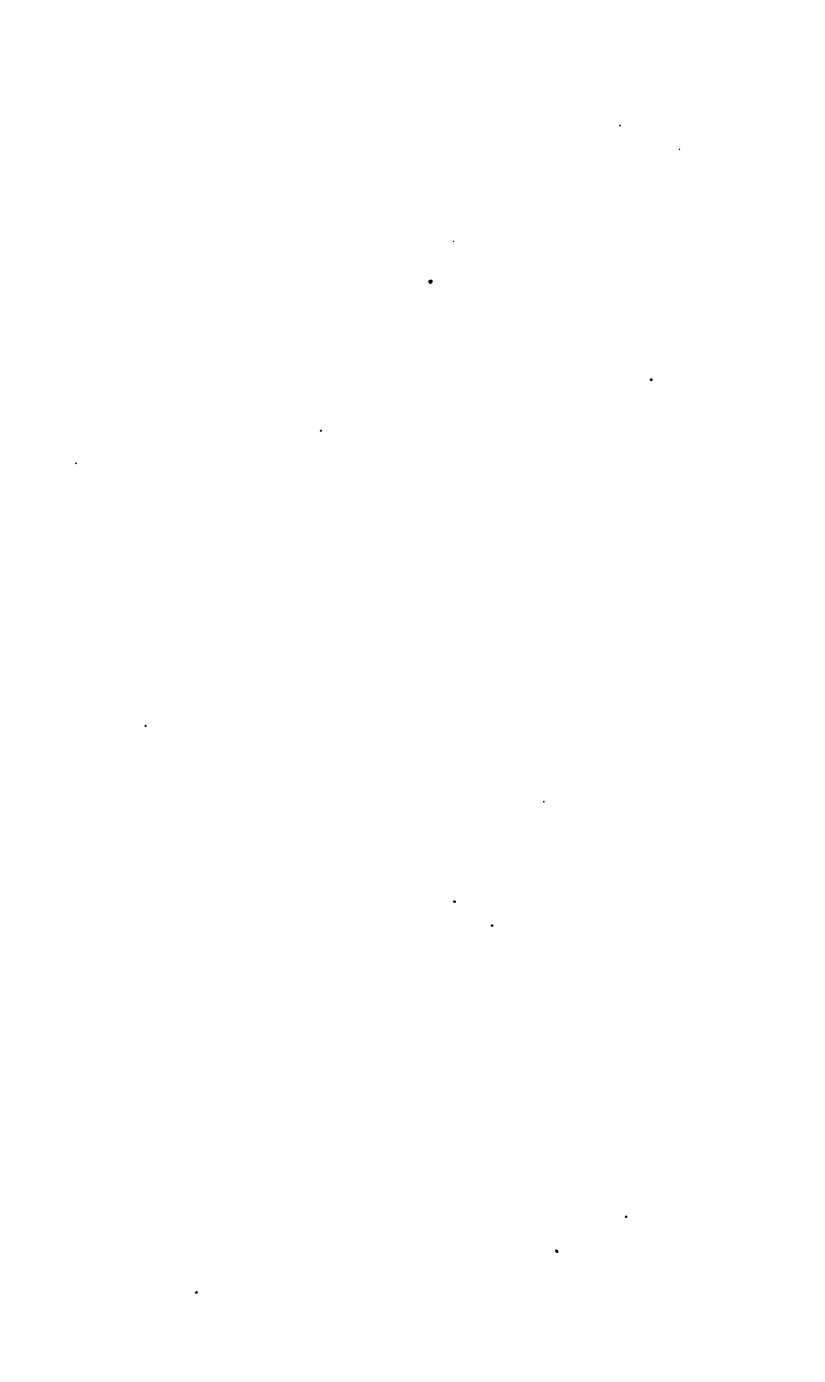
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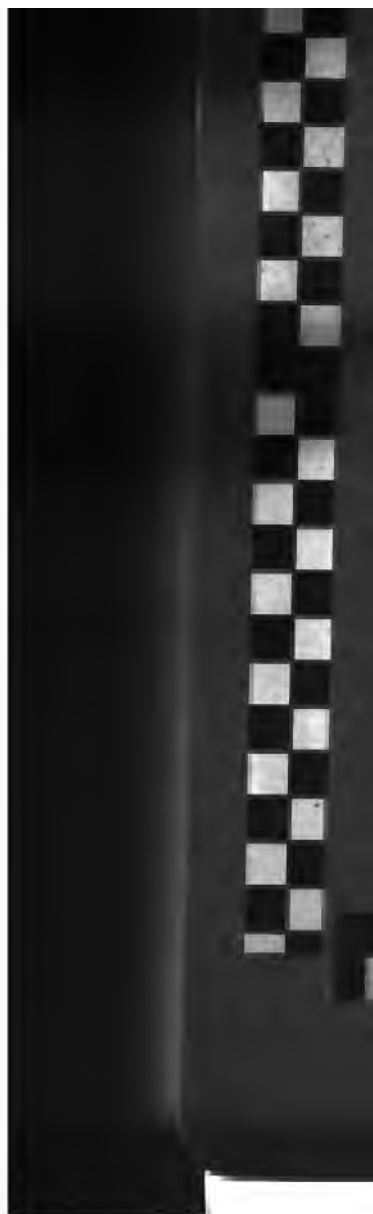
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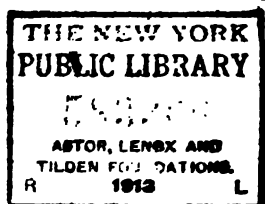
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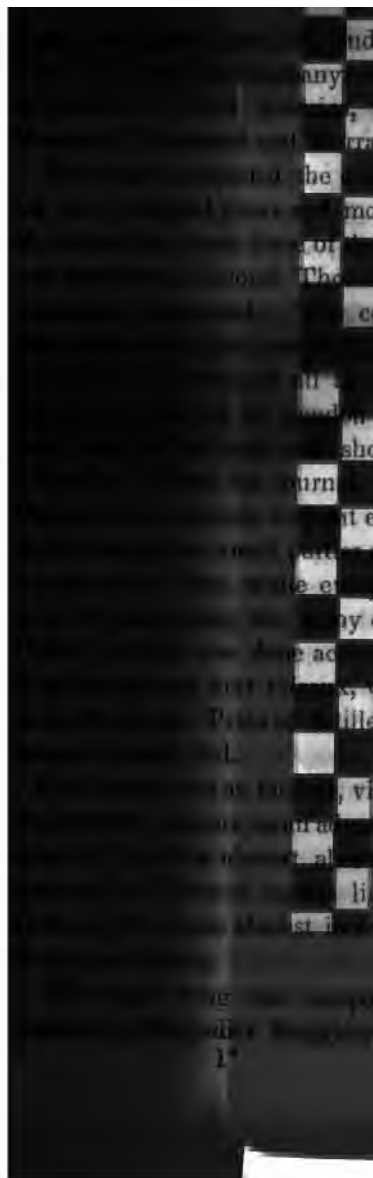
I have been led to this, my present undertaking with the hope of contributing in some degree to repair the effects of this much lamented indifference.

With this view, I am about to write the memoirs of the person whose name is at the head of this article. It is at once discovered that the task will not be easy in itself nor will it be entirely satisfactory in the performance. The causes which render it difficult in this case, are no doubt, in some measure similar in all like attempts. The companions of General Thomas, in civil, professional and military life, have long since passed away, more than sixty-eight years having elapsed since his death. The confidential officers about his person, at his death, in a foreign province, overcome with the event, and occupied with the necessary attention to their official duties, in an army prostrate with sickness of the most malignant kind and on a retreat in an enemies country, pursued by a well appointed army flushed with success, and commanded by a consummate general, did not, and could not have given that attention to the safe keeping of the private papers of their general, which would have aided in the performance of the task imposed.

On the part of his descendants it is admitted and regretted, that less care and attention has been given than should have been, to the preservation of those family records and traditions, which would have gone far to have made this memoir the more complete and interesting, and rendered the life and services of their ancestor more conspicuous and useful. The apprehension which seems to have influenced them, that they might be considered



medical student with Dr. Cotton Tufts, of Medford, in the vicinity of Boston, a distinguished Physician ; for at that time there were no medical colleges in Massachusetts or New England. On completing his medical education, Dr. Thomas commenced practice in his native town, but in a few years removed to Kingston, in the same county, where he continued in his profession till his death, except when connected with the army. As a physician he was not only skilful, but eminently successful. In March, 1746, he was appointed and commissioned as second surgeon in a body of troops raised in Massachusetts, to be stationed at Annapolis Royal. In February, 1755, he was appointed Surgeon's mate in Shirley's regiment, but soon left the medical staff, and was appointed a lieutenant in the same regiment the same year. In the year 1759, he was appointed a colonel, and re-appointed to the same office 1760, by Governor Pownall of the Massachusetts government. Whether he ever served in any of the intermediate grades in the army does not appear ; it is highly probable he did. It appears by his petition to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, that he commanded his regiment part of both these years in Nova Scotia. In the year 1760, with his regiment, he joined the Anglo-American army at Crown Point, commanded by General Amherst, commander-in-chief of all the forces in North America. After the many defeats of the British and American arms, in the first years of the old French war, under the successive commands of Braddock, Shirley, Johnson, Lord Laudon and Abercrombie, the energetic Pitt, then Prime Minister of En-



mand of the whole army. The left was made up of the New Hampshire and Boston [Massachusetts] troops, commanded by Colonel Thomas. The seventeenth and twenty-seventh regiments, with some few of the royals that formed the centre column, were commanded by Major Campbell, of the seventeenth regiment. Colonel Haviland was in front of these divisions, between that and the light infantry and grenadiers. The royal artillery followed the columns and was commanded Colonel Ord, who had for his escort, one Rhode Island regiment of Provincials. The suttlers, &c. followed the artillery. In this manner we rowed down the Lake [Champlain] forty miles the first day, putting ashore where there was good landing on the west side, and there encamped. The following day we lay by. The 18th, the wind blowing at south, orders were given for embarking, and the same day reached a place on the west shore, within ten miles of the *Isle a Mot*, where the army encamped. It having blown a fresh gale most of the day, some of my boats split open by the force of the waves, and ten of my Rangers were thereby drowned. The 19th, we set sail early in the morning, and that night encamped on the north end of the *Isle a Mot*. The 20th, before day, the army was under way with intention to land; having but twenty miles to go, and having a fair wind, we soon came in sight of the French fort, and about ten in the morning, Colonel Darby, with the grenadiers and light infantry, and myself with the Rangers, landed on the east shore, without the least opposition.

Having done this, an officer was sent to acquaint

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informed Colonel Haviland, who sent down a sufficient number of men to take charge of, and man the vessels ; and ordered the remainder of the Rangers, Light Infantry and Grenadiers, to join the army that night, which was accordingly done ; and about midnight the night following the French troops left the Island, and landed safe on the main, so that next morning nothing of them was to be seen but a few sick, and Colonel Haviland took possession of the fort.

The second day after the departure of Monsieur Bonville and his troops from the Island, Colonel Haviland sent me with my Rangers to pursue them as far as St. Johns' Fort, which was about twenty miles further down the lake, and at that place I was to wait the arrival of the army, but by no means to follow further than that fort, nor run any risk of advancing further towards Montreal. I went in boats, and about day light got to St. Johns, and found it set on fire. I pursued and took two prisoners, who reported, " That Monsieur Bonville was to encamp that night about half way on the road to Montreal ; and that he went from St. Johns about nine o'clock the night before ; but that many of their men were sick, and that they thought some of the troops would not reach the place appointed till the middle of the afternoon."

It being now about seven in the morning, I set all hands to work, except proper guards, to fortify the log houses that stood near the Lake side, in order that part of my people might cover the batteaux, while I, with the remainder, followed Monsieur Bonville, and about eight o'clock I got so well fortified, that I ventured my boats

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inhabitants. The first day I caused all the inhabitants near Chamblee to take the oaths of allegiance, &c., who appeared glad to have it in their power to take the oath and keep their possessions, and were all extremely submissive.

Having obliged them to bring in their arms, and fulfilled my instructions in the best manner I could, I joined Colonel Darby at Chamblee, who had come there to take the fort and had brought with him some light cannon. It soon surrendered, as the garrison consisted only of about fifty men. This happened on the first of September.

On the 2d., our army having nothing to do, and having good intelligence both from General Amherst, and General Murray, Mr. Haviland sent me to join the latter, while he marched with the rest of the army for La Pierm. The 5th., in the morning I got to Longville, about four miles below Montreal, opposite to where Brigadier Murray lay, and gave him notice of my arrival, but not till the morning of the 6th., by reason of my arrival so late. By the time I came to Longville, the army, under the command of General Amherst, had landed about two miles from the town, where they encamped; and early in the morning Monsieur de Vaudrieu, the Governor and Commander in Chief, of all Canada, sent to capitulate with our General, which put a stop to all our movements, till the 8th of September, when the articles of capitulation were agreed to and signed, and our troops took possession of the town gates that night. Next morning the Light Infantry and Grenadiers of the whole army,

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reflections of the Statesman. On the 12th of September, General Amherst, by a written order, directed Rogers to take two hundred men, and proceed to the French forts of Detroit and *Michilimackina* and all others in that direction, receive their submission and take possession. In pursuance of this order, Rogers embarked at Montreal on the 13th of September, and in obedience to his orders traversed a country by land and water, filled with hostile Indians, and performed this service to the entire satisfaction of his commander. On his return, January 23d, 1761, he reached the Ohio opposite Fort Pitt, from whence he ordered Lieutenant Mc Cormick to march the party across the country to Albany and came himself by the common road to Philadelphia, from thence to New York, where, after his long, fatiguing tour, he arrived on the 14th of February, 1761; which ends his journey and journal. He was engaged in this delicate and hazardous enterprize five months and one day; the whole account is of great interest, even at this day, and is well and plainly related.

The campaign of 1760 closed the military career of Colonel Thomas, as connected with the British crown, and many distinguished officers of that war, among whom was Major Robert Rogers. Major Rogers was a native of the interior of New Hampshire, the vicinity of Concord, and was the right arm of all the English commanders who served in that war, obtained their entire confidence, and at the close of the war, was placed on half pay, and was employed in Canada, partly in a military, and partly in a civil

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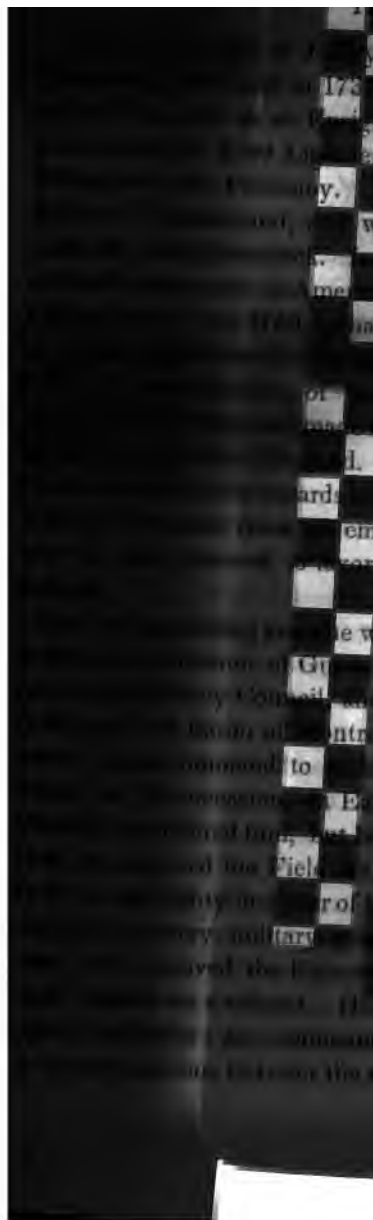
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England and never visited this country again. General Ruggles, was a distinguished lawyer, and many years a leading man in the Legislature of Massachusetts, but before the Revolution voted and acted with the tories, and left the country when Howe left Boston, and never returned. Both Ruggles and Rogers, joined the British in the contest for Independence, and took an active part against their native country and in favor of the king to whom they had sworn allegiance.

General Amherst, the commander-in chief in 1760, moved against Montreal with an army of all arms, 10,868 effective, by Oswego over Lake Ontario, and down the river St. Lawrence, starting from Crown Point. General Haviland moved from the same place, by way of Lake Champlain, as related by Rogers, with whom Ruggles, Thomas and Rogers marched with a force of 3,500, while General Murray led an army from Quebec against the same place amounting to 4,400 ; the whole three combined amounted to 18,748 effectives. The three armies arrived within striking distance of Montreal within twenty four hours of each other. Governor Vaudrieul at first determined to fight Amherst, but on ascertaining that Murray and Haviland had arrived, abandoned his first determination, and surrendered the city and Province on honorable terms for the military, and favorable to the citizens. General Amherst's military character must be generally known in America, but the origin and progress of his career, which led to the rank he attained and the esteem in which he was held, may not be familiar to the American reader.



to hear and redress the complaints of those under him. The honor of the nation whose battles he fought, seemed to be the predominant principle of his military career. Lord Amherst had a brother who attained the rank of admiral of the blue ; and a brother William, who served under him in America, who attained the rank of Lieutenant General, aid de camp to the King, and Adjutant General to his Majesty's forces. A pillar was erected at Montreal in Kent, to commemorate an unexpected meeting of the three brothers in 1764, after a six years absence, and of war, in which the three were successfully engaged in various climes, seasons and services.

Lord Amherst lived to see the country for which he had fought, arrayed in arms against his king, and many who had served under him, high in command, and compelling a British army to leave Boston, and in possession of Montreal, his last conquest in this country. It was fortunate for America that he was not ordered to command against her. Under such a leader Col. Thomas received his first lessons in war, and profited by his teaching. From this time to 1775, Col. Thomas continued engaged in his profession at Kingston, where the revolution found him, in the enjoyment of domestic happiness, professional distinction, and well-earned military fame.

In the month of February, the Provincial Congress passed the following resolution : "In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, February 9th, 1775 : Resolved, That the Hon. Jedediah Preble Esq., Hon. Artemas Ward Esq., Col. Seth Pomery, Col. John Thomas, and Col. William

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acter, and the result of them, are explained by Washington, in an extract from his first letter to Congress, dated Cambridge camp, July 10th, 1775.

“I am very sorry to observe, that the appointment of General officers, in the provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut, has not corresponded with the wishes or judgment either of the civil or military. The great dissatisfaction expressed on this subject, and the apparent danger of throwing the whole army into the utmost disorder, together with the strong representations made by the Provincial Congress, have induced me to retain the commissions in my hands until the pleasure of the Continental Congress should be further known, except General Putnam's, which was given him the day I came to camp, and before I was apprised of these disgusts.

In such a step, I must beg the Congress will do me the justice to believe, that I have been actuated solely by a regard to the public good. I have not, nor could I have, any private attachments—every gentleman in the appointment was a stranger to me, but from character ; I must therefore, rely upon the candor and indulgence of Congress, for their most favorable construction of my conduct in this particular. General Spencer's disgust was so great at General Putnam's promotion, that he left without visiting me, or making known his intention in any respect. General Pomeroy had also retired before my arrival, occasioned, as it is said, by some disappointment from the Provincial Congress. General Thomas is much esteemed, and most earnestly desires

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that he could not in honor serve in an army, and be commanded by those whom he had so recently commanded. His intentions being made known, efforts from various quarters, to retain him in the army, were made, which have no parallel in the military annals of this country or Europe.

"House of Representatives, Watertown, July 22d, 1775.

SIR,

This House approving of your services in the station you were appointed to in the army by the Congress of this Colony, embrace this opportunity to express their sense of them, and at the same time to desire your continuance with the army, if you shall judge you can do it without impropriety, till the final determination of the Continental Congress shall be known with regard to the appointment of the general officers. We assure you that the justice of this House will be engaged to make you an adequate compensation for your services. We have such intelligence as affords us confidence to suppose, that a few days will determine whether any such provision shall be made for you as is consistent with your honor to accept, and shall give encouragement for you to remain in the service.

By order of the House,

JAMES WARREN, *Speaker,*"

GENERAL THOMAS."

The next effort to prevent General Thomas from resigning, was made by General Lee, who at that time, as

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in this very country, which a banditti of ministerial assassins are now attempting utterly to destroy with sword, fire and famine, abandon the defence of her, because you have been personally ill used ?

For God Almighty's sake, for the sake of every thing that is dear, and ought to be dear to you, for the sake of your country, of mankind, and, let me add of your own reputation, discard such sentiments. Consider well the dreadful consequence such a pernicious example may occasion ; consider well whether such a proceeding may not bring down upon your head the contempt and abhorrence of that community which has hitherto most justly held you in the highest estimation.

I beg you will excuse the liberty I take in thus addressing you ; and ascribe it to the true motive—a zeal for the public good, and the great regard I have for your personal self, and that you will believe me to be most sincerely yours,

CHARLES LEE."

GENERAL THOMAS."

The next effort made to retain General Thomas in the army, was by our own Washington, and he never made a greater.

Cambridge July 23d, 1775.

SIR,

The retirement of a general officer, possessing the confidence of his country and the army, at so critical a period, appears to me to be big with fatal consequences, both to the public cause and his own reputation. While

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Abstract—The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of a 10-week training program on the heart rate (HR) and energy expenditure (EE) of sedentary, middle-aged women. The subjects were 15 women, 40 to 50 years of age, who were sedentary and had no cardiovascular or pulmonary disease. The subjects were randomly assigned to a 10-week training program or a control group. The training program consisted of three sessions per week of 30 minutes of moderate-intensity aerobic exercise. The control group consisted of 15 women who did not exercise. The HR and EE were measured at rest and during exercise at the beginning and end of the 10-week training program. The HR and EE were significantly higher at the end of the 10-week training program compared to the beginning of the program. The HR and EE were significantly higher in the training group compared to the control group. The results of this study suggest that a 10-week training program can improve the HR and EE of sedentary, middle-aged women.

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withdraw themselves in an hour of danger; I admit, sir, that your claims and services have not had due respect—it is by no means a singular case; worthy men of all nations and countries have had reason to make the same complaint; but they did not for this abandon the public cause—they nobly stifled the dictates of resentment, and made their enemies ashamed of their injustice. And can America show no such instances of magnanimity? For the sake of your bleeding country, your devoted province, your charter rights, and by the memory of those brave men who have already fell in this great cause, I conjure you to banish from your mind every suggestion of anger and disappointment; your country will do ample justice to your merits; they already do it, by the sorrow and regret expressed on the occasion, and the sacrifice you are called upon to make, will, in the judgment of every good man, and lover of his country, do you more real honor than the most distinguished victory.

You possess the confidence and affection of the troops of this province particularly; many of them are not capable of judging the propriety and reasons of your conduct; should they esteem themselves authorized by your example to leave the service, the consequences may be fatal and irretrievable. There is reason to fear it, from the personal attachments of the men to their officers, and the obligations that are supposed to arise from those attachments. But, sir, the other colonies have also their claims upon you, not only as a native of America, but an inhabitant of this province. They have



mination will be received in a few days. It may argue a want of respect to that august body not to wait the decision; but at all events, I shall flatter myself that these reasons with others which your own good judgment will suggest, will strengthen your mind against those impressions which are incident to humanity, and laudable to a certain degree; and that the result will be, your resolution to assist your country in this day of her distress. That you may reap the full reward of honor and public esteem which such a conduct deserves is the sincere wish of

Sir,

Your very

Obed. and most humble Servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

GENERAL JOHN THOMAS."

"THE ADDRESS OF THE FIELD OFFICERS OF THE SEVERAL
REGIMENTS BELONGING TO THE CAMP IN ROXBURY.

To the Honorable John Thomas, Esq.

SIR,

Your appointment as Lieut. General by the Provincial Congress, in consequence of which you took the supreme command in this camp, gave singular satisfaction to all acquainted with your character, both on account of your inflexible attachment to the liberties of your country, and your knowledge and experience in military movements; and to your vigilance, prudence, and skilful management is to be ascribed in a great measure, that order and regularity for which this camp



The above resolves, letters and addresses, had the desired effect, as might well be supposed, to retain Gen. Thomas in the army and prevent his resignation till the determination of the Continental Congress was known: The result was as we have seen a restoration to rank and command. In the battle of Bunker's or Breed's Hill, on the 17th of June, Thomas took no direct part, although his post at Roxbury, on the south of Boston, was cannonaded during the whole day of the battle; and the original plan of the British was to approach his command, and take possession of Dorchester Heights.

For on the augmentation of his forces in May, 1775, General Gage determined to occupy the heights of Dorchester to the south, ~~and~~ those of Charlestown to the north of the town; the occupation of these was not only necessary to the extension of his quarters, but indispensable to his holding them. It was therefore determined in the first instance to seize on Dorchester Heights, as they were the most commanding, and of easiest access to the Provincials. Agreeably to the plan concerted, Howe was to have landed at the point of the peninsula nearest the castle; Clinton on the flat, between that place and Nook's Hill, whilst Burgoyne was to take post on the neck, and keep up a heavy cannonade on the camp at Roxbury, commanded by Thomas. From the strength, disposition and equipments of those corps, no effectual opposition could have been made to this operation of the royal army, and a few days more would have put it in possession of Bunker's Hill.

The arrangements of General Gage, preparatory to



he was the merciful deliverer of the remnant. Prescott was the hero of the day, and whenever the tale is told, let him be its chieftain."⁹⁹

From Bunker Hill battle to March, 1776, General Thomas commanded the most exposed camp of the besieging army, at Roxbury, and by constant vigilance preserved it from injury or insult. It having been determined to take possession of Dorchester Heights, which would bring on action or produce the evacuation of Boston by the British army; on Monday the 4th of March, in the evening, these heights were taken possession of by General Thomas with about twenty-five hundred men, and between three and four hundred carts with entrenching tools, and a train of carts with fascines and screwed hay.

The whole moved in solemn silence, and with perfect order and regularity, while a continued roar of artillery from our lines served to engage the attention and divert the enemy from the main object. The amount of labor performed during the night, by this party, considering the earth was frozen eighteen inches deep, was almost incredible.

On the morning of the 5th, the British saw at once, there was no time to deliberate, Thomas must be removed or Boston evacuated. The former was immediately determined on, and a tremendous cannonade was commenced on our works from the forts in Boston, and the shipping in the harbor. During the forenoon an attack

⁹⁹Rev. Mr. Ellis.



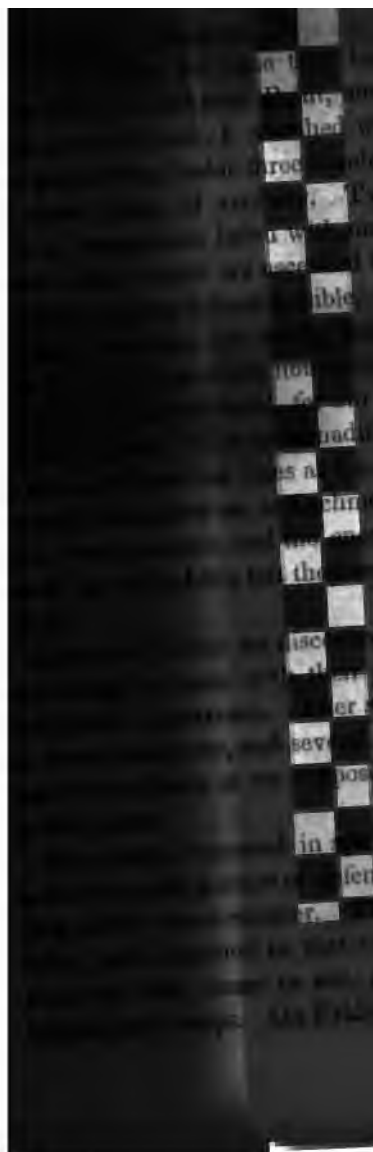
his command are molested during their embarkation, or at their departure by any armed force without, which declaration he gave General Robinson leave to communicate to the inhabitants.

If such an opposition should take place, we have the greatest reason to expect that the town will be exposed to entire destruction. As our fears are quieted with regard to General Howe's intentions, we beg that we may have assurances that so dreadful a calamity may not be brought on by any measure without. As a testimony of the truth of the above, we have signed our names to this paper; carried out by Messrs Thomas and Jonathan Amory, and Peter Johonnet, who have the earnest entreaty of the inhabitants, through the Lieutenant Governor, who solicited a flag of truce for this purpose.

JOHN SCALLY,
TIMOTHY MARSHALL,
TIMOTHY NEWALL,
SAMUEL AUSTIN.

Boston, March 8th., 1776.

Washington gave no answer to this informal communication of Howe's, or any assurance that the wishes of the inhabitants of Boston would be gratified, but acted in conformity to both, by letting Howe depart unmolested. General Thomas' own account of the transaction, in a letter to his wife, will be more acceptable to the reader, than anything that can be said by another.



they sent a flag of truce with a paper, a copy of which I enclose.

I have had very little sleep or rest this week, being closely employed night and day. But now I think we are well secured. I write in haste, thinking you may be anxious to hear, as there is much firing this way. We lost but two men killed in all this affair. How things are in Boston, or what loss they have sustained from our shots and shells, at present we are not informed, but I am sensible we distressed them much, from appearances. I have wrote you enclosed by the same hand, and am in haste.

JOHN THOMAS.

Dorchester Hills, in a small hut, March 9, 1776.

Your son John is well and in high spirits. He ran away from Oakley privately, on Tuesday morning, and got by the sentries and came to me on Dorchester Hills, where he has been most of the time since."

Mrs. Thomas' disobedient son John, had been left by his father, on Monday evening, when he marched for Dorchester Heights, in the care of his colored servant Oakley, who, no doubt, was instructed to keep him from mischief and danger, he being but ten years old. On Tuesday morning he found every thing in motion, and battle expected, where his father was to act a conspicuous part, considered it dishonorable to remain in retirement, hazarded his father's displeasure and sought the post of danger. Years had passed, young as he was, since he had heard his parents and neighbors express their indignation at every kind of oppression, whether civil or religious.



another body of troops, while the first part was in execution. In a letter to Colonel Joseph Reed, afterwards President of the State of Pennsylvania, he says, "The four thousand men destined to take possession of Boston on the 5th, if the ministerialists had attempted our works at Dorchester Heights, or the lines at Roxbury, was to have been headed by General Putnam. But he would have had an easy time of it, as his motions were to have been regulated by signals, and those signals by appearances. He was not to have made the attempt, unless the town had been drained, or very considerably weakened of its forces."

Congress were now looking for an officer to command the troops led into Canada by Montgomery and Arnold, and having been cautioned by Washington not to appoint General Putnam, for that service, they on the 6th of March, promoted General Thomas to the rank of Major General, and sent him to command in Canada. A letter from John Adams, then a member of Congress at Philadelphia, of March 7th., to General Thomas, gives so correct a view of American affairs at that time, in that quarter, that it is here inserted.

"DEAR SIR,

The Congress have determined to send you to Canada. They have advanced you one step by making you a Major General, and have made a handsome establishment for a table. Your friends, the delegates from your native province, were much embarrassed, between a desire to have you promoted and placed in so honor-

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time: It is of great importance that the delegates from New England should be truly informed of the course of things in Canada."

General Thomas, while in his proud command at Dorchester, was promoted, and appointed to a more extensive and important command, which proved disastrous to his country, and fatal to himself. After seeing the British army and fleet leave his native province, he took his departure for Canada, the difficulty of travel at that season of the year, and other obstructions to his progress on the route, may be conceived, but a letter from the good patriot, General Schuyler, will more fully reveal.

Naratoga, Friday Evening, 8 o'clock, March 20th, 1776.

SIR,

By a letter this moment received from my Secretary, I have the pleasure to learn you have arrived at Albany. Lest you should be induced by the hopes of still being able to cross the lakes on the ice to leave Albany, I send this by express to advise you of the impossibility. Four companies are now lying about forty miles north of Ticonderoga, without being able to proceed, as a great part of the lake is open. I hope a few more warm days and high southerly winds will remove the obstacles. The first of the cannon will arrive at Fort George to morrow, and I hope the whole will be there by the middle of next week. Had a sufficient number of carriages been provided by the persons to whose



approached when reinforcements from England would be certain, and notwithstanding the feeble state in which the army still continued, the Americans under Arnold deemed it indispensably necessary to recommence active operations, and to renew the siege of Quebec. They now again erected their batteries, and on the first of April, just as they were about to open them, General Wooster arrived from Montreal, and took the command. The next day the batteries were opened, without much effect. They had not weight of metal to make a breach in the wall, nor an engineer capable of directing a seige, nor artillerists who understood the management of the pieces. The few troops of this description originally belonging to the army were prisoners in Quebec. The day after the arrival of Wooster, Arnold's horse fell with him, and so bruised his leg which had been wounded, as to confine him for some time to his bed. Believeing himself neglected, he obtained leave of absence as soon as he was able to move, and took command at Montreal. The true cause of Arnold's disgust, probably was his being superseded by Wooster, who he personally disliked. Some fire ships had been prepared both at Orleans, and Point aux Trembles, to be used against the vessels in the harbor as soon as the ice would permit the operation. The difficulties usually attending such an enterprise were greatly augmented by the want of sailors, and of a skilful commander to conduct them. The attempt, however was made with great boldness, and the ship in Orleans very nearly succeeded. Coming from



who refused to do duty. The sick were generally ill of the small pox, in the hospital. And this force was necessarily divided so as to occupy different posts which had been deemed necessary to maintain, at great distances from each other, and on different sides of the St. Lawrence, so that not more three hundred men could be brought together at one point, which might be attacked by the whole force of the enemy ; and in all the magazines there were but one hundred and fifty barrels of powder and six days provisions ; nor could adequate supplies from the country people be relied on, as the Canadians no longer manifested a disposition to serve them. The river was beginning to open below, and no doubt could be entertained, that the first moment of its being practicable, would be seized by the enemy for the relief of this very important place.

Amidst these unpromising circumstances, the hope of taking Quebec, appeared to General Thomas chimerical, and the longer continuance before the town useless and dangerous. The first reinforcements which should arrive from England, would deprive him entirely of the use of the river, and embarrass the removal of his sick and military stores. No existing object remained to justify the hazard. Under these impressions, General Thomas called a council of war on the 5th. of May, in which it was determined, that they were not in a condition to risk an assault, and that the sick should be removed to the Three Rivers, and the artillery and other stores embarked in boats, in order to move with the *army higher up the river to a more defensible position.*



Much to the honor of General Carleton, he pursued the wise and humane policy of treating with great kindness, the sick and other prisoners, that fell into his hands. The falls of Richelieu had been contemplated as a place of great natural strength, which by being fortified and defended by a few armed vessels, might, in the event of failing in the attempt on Quebec, stop the progress of the enemy up the river, and thus preserve the greater part of Canada. General Montgomery had strongly recommended an early attention to this position, and it had been determined to fortify it ; but the measures resolved on, had not been executed. Some armed gondolas were building up the river, but had not been completed in time ; and in the present state of that place, it was entirely impracticable to maintain it. The ships of the enemy were pressing up the river, and were then at Jacques Cartier, about three leagues below De Chambeau, and, as they had no means of stopping them at the falls of Richelieu, would soon be above so as to subject the troops in their present position, to the same disadvantages to which they had been exposed before Quebec.

The army therefore continued its retreat to De Chambeau, where on the seventh, another council of war was called, in which it was agreed they should retire to the mouth of the Sorel. In pursuance of this advice, the remaining sick were moved up the river ; but General Thomas was determined to continue in his present position some time longer, by the information that large reinforcements were now passing the lakes, and might *daily be expected* ; but those reinforcements not arriving

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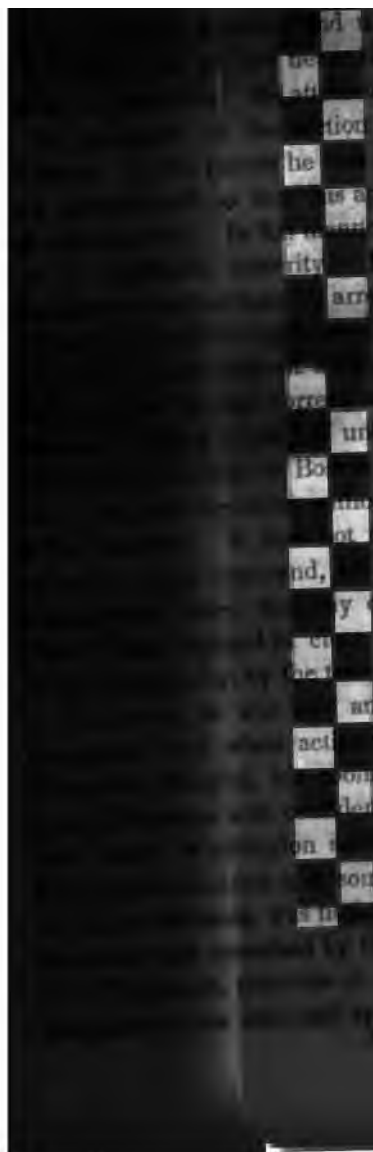
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the more advantageous will it be, as all the country will most probably take part with us, from which we may draw some assistance and support, considering all below as entirely within the power of the enemy, and of course in their favor. This misfortune must be repaired, if possible, by our more vigorous exertions; and I trust that nothing will be wanting on your part or in your power to advance our country's cause."

This was the last communication ever directed to General Thomas by his beloved commander or Congress, and it is doubtful if this was ever received by him. It admits the retreat from before Quebec to have been inevitable, but at the same time must have renewed in Thomas' mind what he before well knew, the great mortification such a step would occasion in the minds of Congress and his countrymen. This information, from such a source, must have been keenly felt by a mind like his, and at the same time, utterly beyond his power to apply an effectual remedy.

With all the wisdom of Congress during our whole contest for independence, their seemed to be a delusion in their determination to take and keep possession of Canada. And Thomas must have felt that retreat, however inevitable, would be viewed by them as disgraceful. On the 2d of June, 1776, at Chamblee, on the river Sorel, while anxiously awaiting the expected reinforcements, he died of the small pox, aged fifty-two years. The disease was so malignant that he was entirely blind some days before his death. And what is remarkable, he had in the course of his professional life, been



His letter to his wife, from Dorchester Heights, is a picture of the man. Not a word even to her, of the estimate in which he was held by his commander, whose first trait of character was an intuitive knowledge of his fellow men, and especially of those under him. Not an intimation that he was selected for that important and delicate service in preference to two Major Generals then in camp, to one of whom was assigned a secondary part to act. All this might have been mentioned to her without arrogance or boasting. Not a word of his courage, for no one ever doubted he possessed it, he simply tells her that John is safe, and only two men killed "in all this affair." But further particulars of his character and services are unnecessary, when it is recollected that he received particular marks of favor, and especial confidence was reposed in him by two of the first Generals of the age, Sir Jeffrey Amherst and George Washington.

He married Hannah Thomas, of Plymouth, a woman distinguished for intelligence and general accomplishments. At the time of his marriage he was rather advanced in life. He left a wife, daughter and two sons, both the latter still survive ; one of them was with him at Dorchester Heights. His wife lived to an advanced age, and died in 1819, universally respected. This imperfect sketch is not only due to the memory of General Thomas on his own account, and the character of his respectable ancestors and descendants, for his nobility neither began or ended with himself, but to the whole union, and especially to the old colony of Plymouth, his native place. No section of New England was more distinguished for



he had in New England, and the confidence the militia placed in him, and *the absolute necessity there was of sending a determined officer*. He arrived at Bennington the day after Stark's victory. He immediately commenced operations in Burgoyne's rear, by sending Colonel Brown with 500 men to Lake George. He captured the fort and two hundred batteaux, with two hundred and ninety-three of the enemy and liberated one hundred American prisoners. This raised the spirits of the northern militia.

After some other operations he joined the army of Gates, to whom he was second in command. In a letter of the late General Ebenezer Mattoon, then a Lieutenant, of November 13, 1837, to the late Colonel John Trumbull, he says, "As to your enquiry about General Lincoln, in the action of the 7th of October on Bemus' Heights, I recollect our troops broke through the centre of the enemy's line, which left Lord Belcarras on our extreme right, in a very exposed situation. Early in the morning of the 8th, General Lincoln said to me, "my aids are all very busily engaged in writing, will you mount one of their horses and ride to the lines with me?" I replied, "Sir, I will with pleasure." On the way he observed, "If the enemy have not changed their position during the night, I think Lord Belcarras can be cut off." We rode to the southerly part of our line, which extended northwardly a considerable distance, parallel with the enemy's, which lay east of us, and within long musket shot of where our army lay, secreted behind some logs laid up. The General leaped his horse over the logs, and I followed him.

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Ferry, and a warm action ensued. It was bravely fought, but not decisive. On this occasion, after being without sleep the previous night, he was ten hours on horse-back at one sitting. In September, Count D'Estaing arrived off Savannah, where Lincoln joined him. A siege ensued which was too slow an operation for D'Estaing's temperament, he determined on an assault, against the opinion of Lincoln, as a few days would have put them in possession of the place. On the 9th of October, D'Estaing and Lincoln made the assault, leading in person their respective columns. They nobly contented for possession of the town, and it was the bloodiest engagement of the Southern war, but less successful than bloody. The Count re-embarked his troops for the West Indies, and Lincoln re-crossed the Savannah, and made his head-quarters at Charleston. On the 30th of March General Clinton encamped in great strength, in front of the American lines. On the 10th of April, having completed his first parallel, the garrison was summoned to surrender. On the 20th a second parallel was completed and the garrison a second time summoned to surrender, which was rejected. On the 8th of May a third summons was sent, and on the 11th the garrison surrendered. It is conceded that great credit is due to Lincoln, for his judicious and spirited conduct in baffling for three months, the greatly superior forces of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot. Though Charleston and the army were lost, yet by their long defence, the British plans were retarded and deranged, and North Carolina saved for the remainder of the year 1780. So establish-

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Secretary of War, which important trust he has discharged to their entire approbation." In 1787, he was commander of the troops sent to quell the famous Shay's Insurrection, which he happily suppressed during that severe winter, by his activity and prudence. The same year he was elected Lieutenant Governor. In 1789 was appointed Collector of the Ports of Boston and Charlestown, which latter office enabled him to repurchase that part of his patrimony he had been compelled to sell for the support of his family; he was as humane as brave, in private life few men have been more respected, he was a practical and rational christian from his childhood up. The last and most important office he ever held, was that of Deacon in the Congregational church, of which the learned and pious Dr. Shute was pastor. This office he held till his death, in the same church, formed on primitive, apostolic principles, in which the Elder or Teacher was considered and treated, only as first among equals.

He was elected to this office by the brethren of the church, for his good report and wisdom, and his humility enabled him to perform all the duties of the office to the acceptance of the brethren. He would not have accepted the office from any source less pure. He and his departed friend had hazarded their lives in defence of this principle in the church, as fully as for the right and ability of the people to govern themselves in civil affairs. They had no reverence for the assumed and usurped power of kings or prelates.

They felt and knew that the union of church and

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This union has filled the world with infidels and scorners, associated the Savior with the scourgers of mankind, and excited against his religion the hatred of millions. Jesus has been looked upon as in fellowship and communion with tyrants, lending them aid in their warfare against human happiness, freedom and rights! Was it not this union that converted France into a nation of infidels and atheists? To gain confidence there as an honest friend of the people, it was deemed necessary to declare one's self an enemy of Christ.

To gain attention as a philanthropist it was necessary to renounce his religion. Not without reason the church was deemed the most formidable obstacle to the progress of society, to the attainment of human freedom and rights. The altar and the throne must be involved in a common ruin. Such are the fruits of joining together what God intended should be kept assunder. The Church and State must be divorced. The work has begun and must go on. The Church will be redeemed from its long captivity, take its appointed position in conflict with the world and go forth once more conquering and to conquer. Then will return the days of the Most High; then the power of the Gospel to regenerate and bless and save will be revealed, and the ministers of Jesus be clothed with salvation; and the hearts of all men be drawn unto him, and the dark clouds of centuries be broken and scattered. The necessity of this separation is felt by his true friends every where, and they are preparing themselves for the battle. Long and firm may be, must be the struggle; but that success will *finally* attend their efforts admits not a doubt.

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COLONEL THOMAS KNOWLTON.

COLONEL KNOWLTON was descended of respectable English ancestors, who were among the first settlers of Massachusetts, where Thomas was born, November, 1740, in the town of Buxford, county of Essex ; from whence he removed, when a lad, with his father, to the town of Ashford, in the Province of Connecticut.

Before he was sixteen years of age he enlisted as a private soldier in the Old French war, and continued in the army between three and four years, during which time he was promoted to the respective offices of Sergeant, Ensign, and Lieutenant. During this war he was engaged in several close actions, in one of which he came in contact, hand to hand, in the woods, with a French officer, when he flung down his musket and closed in with him, they both fell, the Frenchman uppermost, but Knowlton extricated himself and succeeded in taking the life of his adversary.

He was in the action of August, 1758, when Major Rogers in command of five hundred Rangers, British and Provincials, was attacked when on his march in the woods, by an equal number of French and Indians. *Rogers* in his account of the battle, says, "Major Put

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conversation, but no duel ensued, as the challenger proposed an adjustment of the affair, which took place before they landed, satisfactorily and honorable to Knowlton.

On his return to Ashford, he married before he was twenty years old, and became a prosperous farmer, and at an unusually early age he became one of the fathers of the town, a select man; in which occupation and office the battle of Lexington found him. On the news of this event, the militia company of Ashford, immediately assembled, and Knowlton with his musket, with them, for the purpose of marching to the American camp at Cambridge.

They were destitute of a captain, and by a unanimous vote elected Knowlton to the vacant office, which he readily and cheerfully accepted. At this occurrence, the mortification of the Lieutenant was so great that he declined marching with the company. This did not arise from want of capacity or patriotism on the part of Lieutenant Marcy, but the greater confidence they justly placed in Knowlton, arising from his former services, which they must have well known; and they had good reason to believe they would meet something very different from mere parade or children's play in the course of the expedition they were undertaking.

Knowlton arrived at Cambridge previous to the battle of Bunker's Hill, in which action he took a conspicuous part. He was the only officer, except those from Massachusetts, who had the honor to march with the gallant Colonel Prescott, on the evening of the 16th of June



In this trying situation, Prescott abandoned his post for want of ammunition, and support from his countrymen on Bunker's Hill within six hundred yards of him, and Stark compelled to follow him from the same cause, Knowlton was cool and self possessed. He retreated with young troops, in good order, with celerity and safety; the enemy being unloaded by their fire on Prescott. From this day he was justly considered the first officer of his grade in the army. He received from a gentleman of Boston, whose name is not now recollected, for his distinguished gallantry and good conduct at Breed's Hill, a *gold laced hat*, an elegant *sash*, and *gold breast plate*. The gold breast plate is now in the possession of a descendant.

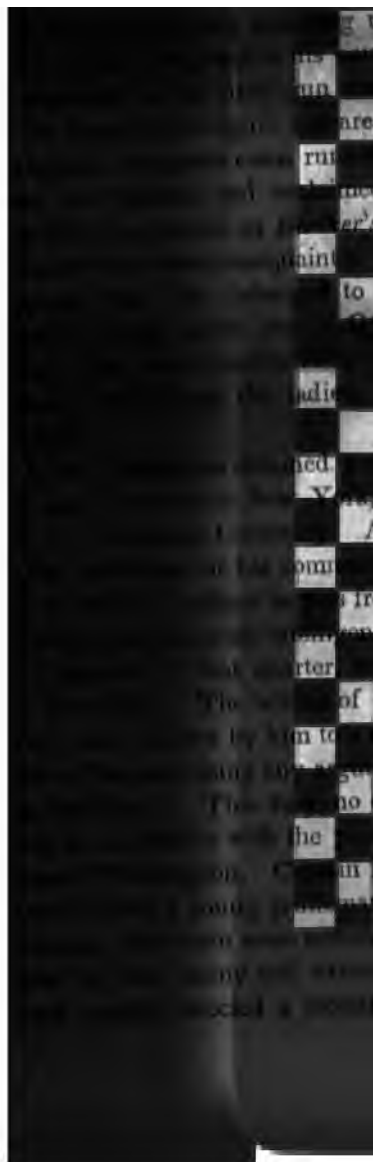
Colonel Aaron Burr, speaking of him, some few years before his death, said, "He received the full account of this battle from Knowlton's own mouth, and he believed if he had the whole direction of the day, it would have resulted more fortunately. Its being objected that he should not be placed before Prescott and Stark, he observed that was not what he intended—but that an able and efficient officer was wanting to superintend the whole, as *they*, as well as Knowlton had their particular posts to defend; and a great fault rested somewhere for not supporting them." It being then observed that the rapidity of his promotion indicated his merit, he replied, "it was impossible to promote such an officer too rapidly." It has been justly said of those troops which could be induced to take part in the action that day—"The military annals of the word rarely furnish an



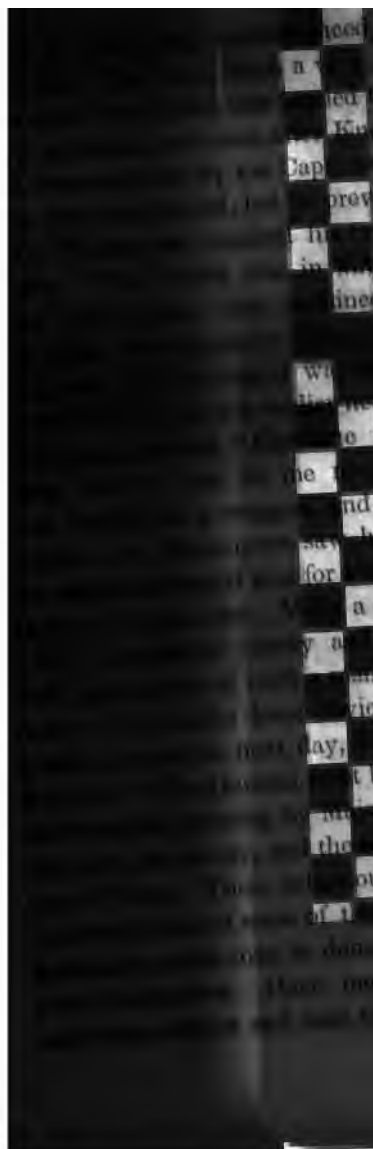
description, and the danger and delicacy of the operation assigned Major Knowlton. Knowlton had to pass from the main land in Charlestown, over the neck or low grounds and mill dams to this hill, partly below and around it and its garrison; to fire many scattering houses, seventeen in the whole, and so to conduct and dispose his force as to secure a safe retreat, in a very dark night, at a time when the greater part of the British army were cantoned on Bunker's Hill. Both objects were completely effected under a brisk fire from the enemy's batteries, without the loss of a man.

Lieutenant Trafton, of the party, observed many years after, "that it was considered at the time an operation of great hazard, especially in securing a retreat; but we had entire confidence in the officer commanding, that he could effect it if any officer in the army could do it. For myself, I had determined, rather than fail in the part assigned me—the burning of certain designated houses—to lose my life; for our regiment was disgraced, on the day of Breed's Hill battle, by the conduct of our colonel, and I would not survive a personal disgrace." Lieutenant Trafton was afterwards promoted, and served through the war with the reputation of a brave and good officer.

"On the evening when Major Knowlton set fire to the houses in Charlestown, the farce of the "*Blockade of Boston*," of which General Burgoyne was the reputed author, was performed. The figure designed to burlesque General Washington was dressed in an uncouth



the unfortunate and disastrous battle of **Brooklyn Heights** Knowlton by great effort and good fortune gained the American camp before the enemy with an overpowering force closed upon the American rear, thereby saving himself and his command from being made prisoners with General Sullivan and Lord Sterling. The American troops were now withdrawn from Long and Governors Islands, and in a few days New York city evacuated, in a manner which shew they were overcome with their fears. On this occasion Washington's mortification was extreme, and his com-patriot Greene said of him, "He appeared to seek death rather than life." In this condition of the American army a halt was made at **Harlem Heights** and the Commander-in-chief regained his equanimity, although the British in his front reached from the East to the North River, across the whole Island of New York. The night after the retreat, Knowlton at the head of one hundred and fifty Rangers was ordered to guard the American camp, and by his vigilance prevent the approach of the enemy unnoticed. The next morning, he commenced skirmishing with the enemy, the Commander-in-chief immediately rode to the advanced posts of the army, in order to make in person, such arrangements as this movement might require. Receiving from Knowlton the probable numbers and position of the enemy, immediately reinforced him with a part of a Virginia regiment under Major Leach, directed him to gain their rear, while he amused them with the appearance of making disposition to attack them in front. The plan succeeded, but Knowlton not knowing the precise situ-



in which they are engaged, and to support the honor and liberties of their country. The gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would have been an honor to any country, having fallen yesterday while gloriously fighting, Captain Brown is to take command of the party lately led by Colonel Knowlton." Washington, in a letter to the President of Congress of the 18th of September reiterates his high opinion of Knowlton.

In his person Colonel Knowlton was near or quite six feet high, erect and elegant in form, made for activity rather than strength. His education was respectable, although not collegiate. Pleasing in his address he never failed of making himself acceptable to those with whom he associated.

He never lessened his character by ostentation or self-complacency; and all cheerfully granted him the applause due to his merit. Always to be found where the battle raged, pressing into close action. An old soldier who served under him, said, "The Colonel was the mildest man he ever knew; nothing of a rough or harsh nature ever passed his lips, so that he was universally respected by those under his command, as well as by those associated with him in command." He left a widow and eight children, all of whom were respectable in society. His oldest son Frederick, was with him when he was shot, and died within a few years past.

Sixty-eight years have elapsed since the death of this great and good man, who would have been an ornament to any country; and what has been done by his country in justice to themselves, and in honor of his memory?

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ALEXANDER SCAMMELL.

Doctor Samuel Leslie Scammell, the father of Alexander, arrived at Boston from Portsmouth, England, in the year 1738, and settled in that part of Mendon now Milford, Worcester county, Massachusetts : Dr. Scammell had two sons, Samuel Leslie, born in 1739, and Alexander born in 1744, and died in 1753, aged forty-five ; leaving his two sons in charge and under the care and guidance of the Reverend Amariah Frost of Mendon, the elder until he was qualified for the study of **Physic**, the younger until he was fitted to enter college.

Mr. Frost was a most worthy Congregational minister and able instructor. He died at an advanced age in 1792, after having had the satisfaction of seeing his wards distinguished in their respective professions, and at all times, with their friends, acknowledging their obligations to him for his fidelity to them, and his purity of character, and ability as a religious teacher.

When the contest for self-government was approaching, no safer or more suitable instructor could be found than an educated New England clergyman. Alexander the subject of this notice, graduated at Harvard College in

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and Clerk of that Association. He assisted Captain Holland in making surveys for his map of New Hampshire. About this time, he appears to be serving on board the sloop of war Lord Chatham, bound from Piscataqua river to Boston, to send despatches, plans and reports to the lords of the Treasury. This vessel mounted several swivels, and carried small arms, and her place of rendezvous was Falmouth, now Portland. Previous to the revolution he entered on the study of the law with General Sullivan of Durham, N. H., whom he styles, "an excellent instructor and worthy patron." His worthy patron was a member of the Congress of 1774 and 5, and the latter year was appointed a brigadier general by that Congress.

Gen. Sullivan on accepting this appointment, would have been more than willing that Mr. Scammell should have remained in his office and taken charge of his legal business, which was extensive and lucrative. But when a whole people rose and took arms to claim and defend the right of self-government, a mind like Scammell's must have been elevated to grandeur in such a cause, and to have remained shut up in a law office, almost within sound of the enemy's artillery at Boston, would have been annihilation to him. He immediately joined the army at Cambridge, and was appointed Brigade Major to Sullivan's Brigade. In this capacity he served during the siege of Boston, without any opportunity offering in which he or the Brigade were particularly distinguished. He served with the Brigade in 1776

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prudent interference of Gov. Clinton. Lee moved his force to Baskingridge, near Morristown. Here Major Wilkinson, on his way from Gates to Washington called on him and shew him Gates' letter to Washington. Here he was called on by Scammell from Gen. Sullivan, who was encamped with the troops for orders of march on the 13th of December, 1776; Lee hesitated, asked for the manuscript map of the country, which was produced and spread upon the table; Lee traced with his finger the route to Princeton; after a close inspection said to Scammell, "Tell Gen. Sullivan to march down towards Pluckamin, that I soon will be with him." This was off the route he had been ordered to take, and directly on that towards Brunswick and Princeton, combine these circumstances with his letter to Gen. Gates, which was written that morning, and we have a clue to his views and designs. The letter was borne off by Major Wilkinson, unfolded, to Sullivan, and is as follows:—

Baskingridge, Dec. 13th, 1776.

MY DEAR GATES,

The ingenious manœuvre of Fort Washington has unhinged the goodly fabric we had been building. There never was so damned a stroke. *Entre nous*, a certain great man is most damnably deficient. He has thrown me into a situation, where I have a choice of difficulties; if I stay in this province, I risk myself and army; and if I do not stay, the province is lost forever. I have neither guides, cavalry, medicines, money, shoes or stockings. I must act with greatest circumspection.



to Gates convicted him of discontent, insubordination and disrespect to Washington, but might have saved him from the suspicion of defection to the cause he had espoused.

It is more than probable that Lee had come to the deliberate determination to violate his orders, trust to his fortune, and hazard his fame on the issue of some bold enterprise. The officers about him believed that if Lee had not been made prisoner, he would have attacked the British post at Princeton the next morning, where the superiority of his force would have insured him success. He had reduced himself to the dilemma of abiding the sentence of a general court martial, for disobedience of peremptory orders, or by some daring and brilliant exploit excited such popular applause as would not only justify his offence, but give him the chief command. Sullivan on the receipt of the intelligence of Lee's capture, immediately directed Scammell to alter the route of the army, so as to gain Washington without unnecessary loss of time. This was done in time for him and his division to take part in the battle of Trenton and Princeton a few days after. Gates' division joined Washington, but he left the army without the knowledge or permission of Washington before the battles of Trenton. It will be seen that Wilkinson has been relied on principally for the above facts, and will be further made use of, with this acknowledgment. In this gloomy period of the revolutionary contest, it is impossible to pass unnoticed the American Chief. "Born with iron nerves, and an unbending dignity of port, which distin-

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Acting always with the main army or its great divisions, few materials respecting him as an individual are now left. And most of those few, his correspondence with his brother and relatives during the war, were many years ago handed to a gentleman in Boston, with the design of writing his memoir, who was fully competent to the performance, but whose death prevented the completion of the task he had assumed. This correspondence has never been recovered, and is now irrecoverably lost. This correspondence might now be of great interest, as his situation of adjutant general gave him an opportunity of being acquainted with the secret springs of all the movements in the army, and had prudence permitted him to have communicated them, as in many instances it might, its value must be seen and appreciated.

In the campaign of 1777, he was placed at the head of the first regiment in the New-Hampshire line, at Ticonderoga, under General St. Clair and the Brigade commanded by General Poor. In the retreat of the army from that fortress to Saratoga, he partook of all its fatigues, deprivations and mortifications. In the first action against Burgoyne, fought by detached regiments, no general officer being on the field, commenced by Dearborn's light infantry and Morgan's riflemen, Scammell was closely engaged and wounded. After the surrender of Burgoyne, Poor's Brigade to which Scammell was attached, was ordered down the river to oppose Sir Henry Clinton who had captured forts Montgomery and Clinton, and was making further depredations on

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Scammell performed all the duties of his important and responsible office to the entire approbation of the commander, and every individual in the army, for no one ever held that office, who was more beloved and respected.

After the battle of Monmouth, he was directed by the commander-in chief, to place his old General, Lee, under arrest. The opinion of the army was divided as to the guilt of Lee on the charges preferred against him, except his disrespect to Washington. He might have been acquitted of the others had not Washington been considered the complainant. This is rendered probable from the division in Congress on its approval of the sentence of the court martial, only seven states voting for approval. It seems at this day strange that so intelligent a court should have found the facts they did, and rendered the judgment of suspension for one year thereon; when from the then existing rules and articles of war, he should have been shot. Scammell did express the opinion, in presence of many of the officers of the army, that Washington never had so fair an opportunity of gaining as decisive a victory over the enemy as at Monmouth, had Lee done his whole duty. This opinion, no doubt correct, had great weight in the army, and preponderated heavily against Lee. The main army in the years 1779 and 1780, were in a good measure inactive, and gave time for them to consider and muse over their future prospects. Scammell in the few letters of his which remain and are to be found, addressed to Colonel Peabody, a member of Congress from New-Hampshire, and

legitimate subjects to the States, as it would encourage our officers, who have no wives, to marry, and proceed in obedience to the first command. At present, the young women dread us as the picture of poverty; and the speculators, to our great mortification, are running away with the best of them, whilst we are the painful spectators of the meat being taken out of our mouths, and devoured by a parcel of ———. Give my sincere compliments to inquiring friends—Mrs. Peabody in particular.

Your friend, and humble servant,
ALEXANDER SCAMMELL.”

COLONEL PEABODY.”

[Extract.]

West Point, September 29th, 1779.

“Does Congress mean to make the officers any permanent consideration? or do they intend to coax them on by doing a little and promising them a great deal, till the war is over, and then leave them without money, (consequently without friends;) without estates, and many without property or constitutions, the two latter of which they have generously sacrificed in defence of their country. This is the language of the officers almost universally, from all the States. My station renders it my duty to make every thing as easy and quiet as possible. But I shudder at the consequences, as I am convinced that in the approaching winter, we shall lose many of our brave officers, who must resign or doom themselves to want and misery by remaining

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the scale of nations under a solemn appeal to Heaven, languish in the field—her veterans fainting, her officers at the head of raw troops, obliged to risk their lives and reputation; with troops counting the moments in painful anxiety, when they shall return home and leave us with scattered ranks? If the regiments are not filled for the war, our cause must fail, I am bold to pronounce. Not a continental officer, I fear, will be left in the field, if he must every six months, become a drill sergeant. It is too mortifying to risk a six years reputation with inexperienced troops. Our good and great general, I fear, will sink under the burthen, though he has been possessed of the extremest fortitude hitherto, which has enabled him to be equal to every difficulty, and to surmount what to human eye appeared impossible. But a continual dropping will impress a stone, and a bow too long strained, loses its elasticity. I have ever cherished hopes, but my patience is almost thread-bare.

“We yesterday inclined to this place, and took a new position, about two miles from our former one, on the west side of the Hackensack. Our army is remarkably healthy, but frequently fasting without prayers. I condole with you on the disagreeable news from the southward, and lament the fate of so many brave officers and men. After suffering the extremes of hunger and fatigue, to be basely deserted by the militia, and pushed on to be sacrificed, is truly distressing. Hunger occasioned so great desertion, that their numbers were reduced to a handful in comparison with their numbers when they left Maryland. What demon could induce General G.

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"Head Quarters, October 3, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,

"Treason! treason! treason! black as h—ll! That a man so high on the list of fame should be guilty as Arnold, must be attributed not only to original sin but actual transgressions. Heavens and earth! we were all astonishment—each peeping at his next neighbour to see if any treason was hanging about him: nay, we even descended to a critical examination of ourselves. This surprise soon settled down into a fixed detestation and abhorrence of Arnold, which can receive no addition. His treason has unmasked him the veriest villain of centuries past, and set him in true colours. His conduct and sufferings at the northward has, in the eyes of the army and his country, covered a series of base, groveling, dirty, scandalous and rascally peculation and fraud; and the army and country, ever indulgent and partial to an officer who has suffered in the common cause, wished to cover his faults: and we were even afraid to examine too closely, for fear of discovering some of his rascality. Now, after all these indulgences—the partiality of his countrymen, the trust and confidence the commander-in-chief had reposed in him, the prodigious sums that he has pilfered from his country, which has been indulgent enough to overlook his mal-practices,—I say, after all this, it is impossible to paint him in colours sufficiently black. Avarice, cursed avarice, with unbounded ambition, void of every principle of honor, honesty, generosity or gratitude, induced the caitiff to make the first overtures to the enemy—as Andre, the British adjutant-



calling to see me. I hope before this you have perfectly recovered your health. Your friendship and anxiety for the good of the service, will perhaps make any intelligence from us by no means disagreeable. Now we have got a tolerable supply of provisions, we want men, no recruits have arrived yet, except a few stragglers. The enemy are penetrating into the Southern States in several parts, ravaging, plundering and destroying every thing their licentious, unprincipled murderers choose. Lord Cornwallis, after Morgan's victory, having divested himself of all his baggage, made a most desperate pursuit after Morgan, but was providentially stopped short in his pursuit by the sudden rising of a river, occasioned by a heavy rain after Morgan had forded it. Cornwallis then changed his route, and pursued General Greene, who was obliged to retire before him, to the borders of Virginia, nearly two hundred miles. The rapidity of the pursuit, and retrograde movement of our southern army, I believe prevented the militia of that thinly settled country, from reinforcing General Greene seasonably. However, by the advices this day received, Lord Cornwallis was retiring, and General Greene, in turn, pursuing him. A pretty reinforcement is sent from Virginia to Gen. Greene, which, I hope, may arrive in season to enable General Greene to act offensively, unless Cornwallis is reinforced again. Arnold is speculating upon Tobacco and Negroes in Virginia. Another part of the army has landed in North Carolina. The Marquis had, by the last advices, arrived at the head of the Elk, with the light Infantry of our army. The Grenadiers and light

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and soldierly young men and officers, to march in advance of the main army, constantly prepared for active and hazardous service. The Colonel was indulged the liberty of choosing his own officers, rejecting those he deemed unfit for his enterprising purpose. This liberty he exercised to the annoyance of some colonels, especially Col. Jackson of Boston, but Scammell was strenuous and always prevailed. This indulgence on the part of Washington, was evidence of his desire not only to gratify the Colonel, but that his popularity and standing in the army was such, that it might be gratified without danger or inconvenience. At the head of this corps, Scammell marched with the army to the vicinity of New-York, where it joined the French army. While in this neighborhood the light infantry was constantly on the watch and alert to meet the enemy in Westchester, but the enemy were too circumspect to indulge them in their wishes while the combined army remained in the vicinity. On the march of the combined army to Yorktown in Virginia, headed, the one by Lincoln, the other by Viominil, Washington and Rochambeau having preceded their armies, the corps of light infantry were conspicuous. The French army as a whole were in better uniform, and perhaps in a more perfect state of discipline than the American, but no corps exceeded the light infantry, commanded by the long acknowledged, first officer of his grade in the army.

During the siege of Yorktown he was mortally wounded and taken. Col. H. Lee of the American Legion, who was present gives the following account of

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post he had lately retired, for the purpose of taking an active part, at the head of a battalion of light troops, in the meditated operation."

Col. Scammell did not die immediately of his wound, as might be supposed by the above account, but lived six days after.

Dr. Thatcher, the surgeon of his regiment, says he was wounded after he surrendered. This fact could only be known from Scammell himself, and his surgeon might have been permitted to have seen him before his death, though he does not state the fact. At the request of Gen. Washington, Lord Cornwallis allowed him to be carried to Williamsburg, where he died, and where a monument is erected to his memory,

" Which conquering armies from their toils returned,
Bear'd to his glory, while his fate they mourn'd."

Col. Scammell in person, was exactly what could be wished, for the fatigues, pomp and parade of war, six feet and two inches in height, and not too much encumbered with flesh. As an officer, he was intelligent, high-minded, honorable and brave. With an early and finished education, his mind was combining and comprehensive, decisive, prompt and energetic in action.

In the social circle he was easy and even playful, and no officer could approach Washington so familiarly without offence. Of all the gentlemen, who held the office of adjutant general, among whom were those excellent officers and high-minded patriots, Pickering



This son is still alive, been Collector of the port Boston, member of Congress, and adjutant general the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. These thrads, now passed the meridian of life, have not diminish the fame of the noble patriot whose name they bear. From the few materials, either written or traditional, which reference could be had, this imperfect sketch has been drawn. Although far from being full or satisfactory, it may be the means of preserving some memory of the best of men, and one of the first, if not the very first and most accomplished officer of the revolution. Should our country ever again be involved in the evil of war, may those evils be diminished by its being conducted by such men as ALEXANDER SCAMMELL.

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tween Newberry, Massachusetts, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the latter State, ten miles from his former residence ; where he purchased a large tract of land. A principal inducement with Mr. Dearborn and others, for settling at Hampton, was the extensive salt marsh, which was extremely valuable, as the uplands were not cultivated so as to produce a sufficiency of hay for the support of the cattle.

Henry, the son of Godfrey, who was a " man grown " on his father's first arrival at Exeter, inherited the estate, which descended to his son John. Simon, the son of John, resided on the same place, had twelve children, the youngest of whom was Henry, born at Hampton on the 23d of February, 1751, and is the subject of this sketch.

Young Dearborn, after receiving that education which the best schools in New England afforded, commenced and finished his medical education under the instruction of Doctor Hall Jackson, of Portsmouth, who was a distinguished surgeon in the army of the revolution, and justly celebrated as one of the most able physicians New England has produced. Dr. Dearborn was settled in the practice of physic at Nottingham -square, in New Hampshire, three years previous to the commencement of the revolutionary war, where, with several gentlemen of the neighborhood, he employed his leisure hours in military exercises ; being convinced that the time was rapidly approaching when the liberties of this country must be either shamefully surrendered, or boldly defended at the point of the sword. This band of associates were deter-

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was immediately paraded and marched from Medford, about four miles, to the scene of the anticipated attack. When it reached Charlestown Neck, two regiments were halted in consequence of a heavy enfilading fire thrown across it, of round, bar, and chain-shot, from the Lively frigate, and floating batteries anchored in Charles river, and a floating battery lying in the river Mystic. Major McClary went forward and observed to the commanders, if they did not intend to move on, he wished them to open and let Stark's regiment pass. The latter was immediately done.

Captain Dearborn's company being in front, he marched by the side of Col. Stark, who, moving with a very deliberate pace, Dearborn suggested to him the propriety of quickening the march of the regiment, that it might sooner be relieved from the galling cross-fire of the enemy. With a look peculiar to himself, he fixed his eyes on Dearborn, and observed with perfect composure, "Dearborn, one fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones!" and continued to advance in the same cool and collected manner.

When the regiment arrived at Bunker Hill, the enemy were landing on the shore opposite Copp's Hill. At this moment the veteran and gallant Stark harangued his regiment in a short but animated address; then directed them to give three cheers, and make a rapid movement to the rail fence which ran from the left, and in the rear of the redoubt toward the Mystic river.

The redoubt was erected and commanded by the gallant Colonel Prescott. The action soon commenced,

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to see whether they were coming out over the Neck ; at the same time directing me to march my company down the road toward Charlestown. We were then at Tuft's house near Ploughed Hill. I immediately made a forward movement to the position he directed me to take, and halted while he proceeded to the Old Pound, which stood on the site now occupied as a tavern house, not far from the entrance to the Neck.

" After he had satisfied himself that the enemy did not intend to leave their strong posts on the heights, he was returning toward me, and within twelve or fifteen rods of where I stood with my company, a random shot, from one of the frigates lying near where the centre of Graigie's bridge now is, passed directly through his body, and put to flight one of the most heroic souls that ever animated man. He leaped two or three feet from the ground, pitched forward, and fell dead upon his face. I had him carried to Medford, where he was interred, with all the respect and honors we could exhibit to the manes of a great man. He was my bosom friend ; we had grown up together on terms of the greatest intimacy, and I loved him as a brother."

The New Hampshire line retired toward Winter Hill, and the others on to Prospect Hill. Strong advanced picquets were posted on the roads leading to Charlestown, and the troops, anticipating an attack, rested on their arms.

Few events of moment took place in the army from this day till September, and none in which Captain Arborn took part. In September he volunteered his



his life was despaired of for ten days ; without medicine, and with scarcely the common necessaries of life.

His strong constitution at last surmounted the disease, and as soon as he was able to travel he proceeded to Point Levy in a sleigh, crossed over to Wolf's Cove, and made his unexpected appearance at the head of his company, a few days before the assault on Quebec. At four o'clock in the morning, on the 31st day of December, 1775, in a severe snow storm, in a climate that vies with Norway in tempests and intense cold, the attack was commenced. Captain Dearborn was attached to the corps under Arnold, who was wounded early in the action, and carried from the field. Lieutenant Colonel Green, the after hero of Mud Island and conqueror of Count Donop, succeeded in the command. They stormed the first barrier and entered the lower town. Montgomery had already bled on immortal ground, and his division having made a precipitate and most shameful retreat as soon as the General fell, the corps under Green was exposed to a sanguinary but unavailing contest.

From the windows of houses, which being constructed of stone, each was a castle, and from the tops of the parapets a destructive fire was poured upon the assailants, which threatened inevitable destruction to every one who should appear in the streets. The American troops maintained this desperate contest until at last they were reduced to the necessity of surrendering in small parties. The whole corps led on by Arnold, were killed or made prisoners of war. The officers were put in rigid confinement, and every day were tauntingly told that in the

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the Hudson, where considerable reinforcements were met, and Gen. Gates assumed the command of the Northern army.

St. Clair, in this disastrous retreat, sent forward Major Dearborn to Gen. Schuyler, for the purpose of facilitating his retreat with the least possible loss, and to effect a junction with Schuyler in the best possible manner. Soon after the capture of the British detachment under Col. Baum, at Bennington, by Gen. Stark, the second in command at Bunker Hill, and who met the weight of the battle at Trenton ; and the retreat of Gen. St. Ledger from Fort Stanwix ; Gen. Gates advanced to meet the enemy, who was encamped near Saratoga.

When the army arrived at Stillwater, a corps of light infantry was formed, by detachments from the line, consisting of five full companies, and the command given to Major Dearborn ; and in the opinion of the army, and the Adjutant General in particular, " a more vigilant and determined soldier never wore a sword." Dearborn had orders to act in concert with Col. Morgan's regiment of riflemen, which had joined the army a few days before. A strong position was selected, called Bemis' Height, and immediately occupied by the American army.

The riflemen, and Dearborn's corps of light infantry encamped in advance of the left of the main line. The British army had advanced from Saratoga, and encamped on the bank of the river, within three miles of Gen. Gates' position.

On the morning of the 19th of September, the advanced piquets announced that the right wing of the British



ted to join the British forces then ascending the Hudson river; at about one o'clock in the afternoon, advanced in force with a fine train of artillery, and after driving in the American picquets, appeared in full view on the left of General Gates' line, in open ground. Morgan and Dearborn were ordered by General Arnold in person, to advance, and hold the enemy in check. They advanced rapidly, and in a few minutes were engaged with the enemy, but soon after received orders to move in such a direction as to meet and oppose any body of the enemy that might be advancing to occupy an eminence which would give him the command of the left wing of the American army. In this movement a body of the British light infantry, about five hundred strong, under the command of Lord Belloc, was met, and instantly broke and dispersed by one fire and a gallant charge of the infantry. In the language of the American adjutant general, Dearborn, at the moment when the enemy's light infantry were attempting to change front, pressed forward with ardor and delivered a close fire; leaped a fence, shouted, and gallantly forced them to retire in disorder. Earl Belloc re-formed behind a fence, but being now attacked by Dearborn, Morgan, and the brigade of Poor, the whole British line, commanded by Burgoyne in person, gave way and retired to his camp. The riflemen and light infantry continued their pursuit until they arrived in the rear of the enemy's right wing.

Morgan's troops now passed through the skirts of a wood, which brought him in the rear of the enemy's left

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dark. On the assault on the German camp, Arnold, who leaped his horse over the ramparts, received a severe wound in his leg, and his horse being killed at the same moment, fell on him.

While Colonel Dearborn, who ran to him as soon as he fell, was assisting him from under his horse, he asked the General if he was badly wounded; he replied with great warmth, "Yes; in the same leg which was wounded at Quebec; I can never go into action without being shot; I wish the ball had gone through my heart."

After taking care of the wounded, artillery-wagons, horses, tents, and baggage, the prisoners were sent to the American head-quarters, and the troops that had assaulted and carried the post, being relieved by others, at about twelve o'clock at night, marched into camp very much fatigued.

Early next morning, Dearborn's corps, with about one thousand infantry, advanced over the field of battle into the rear of the enemy's main position, to prevent any attempt of Burgoyne's to retreat into Canada; but as he did not move, this detachment returned to camp at dark. The next morning, it being ascertained that the enemy were retreating, Dearborn was ordered to advance with his corps and a part of Morgan's regiment, and take possession of the British camp, with the sick and wounded, that had been left to the care of General Gates.

The whole of the American army was soon after ordered to march; but an unusually heavy rain prevented this movement, and compelled General Burgoyne to



order of Poor, and butted with him the ensuing winter at White Marsh ; and it is believed, fought with him at Monmouth the next summer. The State of New York had no General officer in the field in the actions against Burgoyne's army. General Schuyler had been withdrawn from the command of the northern army, after the success of Stark at Bennington, and the relief of Fort Stanwix by Arnold, under his auspices, through the ill founded prejudices of a part of New York and a greater part of New England, though in every respect a superior man and abler officer than Gates.

Generals George and James Clinton were below on the Hudson, in command of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, which they would have been able to have defended successfully and triumphantly against Sir Henry Clinton, had they not been controlled and thwarted by an incompetent General placed over them by Congress. The origin of the prejudice against Schuyler and St. Clair, was the abandonment by the latter General of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, within the limits of Schuyler's command. The ridiculous story that both these Generals were traitors, at the time gained credit. "They were paid for their treason by the enemy's *silver balls*, shot from Burgoyne's guns into our camp, which were collected by St. Clair and divided between him and Schuyler." These officers at that time and ever after, in the opinion of Dearborn, were honest patriots and able generals. After being suspended from command for more than a year, with odium upon them, they were brought before a

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off and formed on the end of a morass. The Americans wheeled to the right, received their second fire with shouldered arms, marched up within eight rods, dressed, and gave a full fire, and charged bayonet. The British, having sustained considerable loss, fled with precipitation across the morass, where they were protected by the main body of the enemy. Col. Dearborn was then dispatched to the Commander-in-Chief, to ask what further service was required: when he approached, Washington inquired, with evident pleasure at their gallant conduct, "What troops are those?" "Full-blooded Yankees from New Hampshire, sir," replied Dearborn. Washington expressed his approbation in explicit terms, and directed that they should fall back and refresh themselves, as the heat was oppressive and the troops much fatigued. In the general orders of the next day, Washington bestowed the highest commendation on the brilliant exploit of the regiment. Colonels Wigglesworth and Brookes of the Massachusetts line, the latter of whom that day acted as Adjutant General to Lee's division, have often, in expressing their opinion of the conduct of this regiment, declared that their gallant and firm conduct was the salvation of the army, for at the moment every thing was retreat or confusion.

In the campaign of 1779, Colonel Dearborn accompanied General Sullivan's expedition against the Indians in the interior of New York, and had an active share in the action of the 29th of August, with the united forces of Tories and Indians, at Newtown. In 1780, he was *with the main army* in New Jersey. This year the New

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very, and beloved for the amiable qualities of his b
But it is a sufficient eulogy to say, that he ex
ed the confidence and esteem of Washington.
New Hampshire line mourned his death as of a fa
and must have been gratified by the respect shown
memory. General Poor and Colonel Dearborn ma
sisters.

In 1781, he was appointed deputy quarter-ma
general, with the rank of colonel, and served with W
ington's army in that capacity in Virginia. He wa
the siege of Yorktown by the combined armies of A
rica and France, and the capture of Lord Cornwallis
his army. At this siege, Colonel Scammel being b
in reconnoitering the enemy's position at the head o
light troops, Colonel Dearborn succeeded to the
mand of the first New Hampshire regiment.

In 1782, the New Hampshire line having been red
to two regiments, were commanded by Colonels Ge
Reid and Henry Dearborn. The former was stati
on the Mohawk, and the latter at Saratoga. In No
ber, Dearborn joined the main army at Newburgh.
remained with it till the peace of 1783.

Having mentioned the names of George Reid
Henry Dearborn together, it may be noticed that
were born in the same county in New Hampshire,
both captains in Stark's regiment at Breed's Hill,
were the only two of thirteen captains in the regi
that day, who continued in the army to the close o
war, and promoted to the rank of colonel.



We have seen Colonel Dearborn in more than years of war, in sickness and in health, in imprisonment in victory and defeat, from Bunker's Hill to the surrender of Cornwallis, the same ardent patriot and determined soldier. In camp, vigilant, circumspect and intelligent in action determined, and always pressing into action with the bayonet, as at Saratoga and at Monmouth. In camp or action, always receiving the approbation of his commanders, whether Sullivan, Gates, or Washington.

All comparisons may be considered in some measure invidious, yet justice requires, and truth warrants the assertion, that of all the officers of the gallant Hampshire line in the revolutionary war, after the death of General Poor and Colonel Scammel, Dearborn was first. The writer is fully aware that Stark, Cilliart, Reid, were all officers of great merit, but he feels compelled to make the foregoing declaration in favor of Dearborn.

In June, 1784, he removed from New Hampshire to the Kennebec river, in Maine. Before his removal he fortunately exchanged some uncultivated land with the trustees of Philips's Exeter Academy for cash, a commodity at that time rarely to be had. Whether the trustees were losers or gainers by the exchange, is not known, but Col. Dearborn always considered it a fortunate exchange, and in the light of a favor to him.

In 1787, he was elected by the field-officers of the militia a brigadier-general of the militia, and



In 1801, the administration of the Government passed from the federal to the democratic party after a long and bitter contest, when General Dearborn was called by President Jefferson to preside over the War Department. The federal party not only opposed Mr. Jefferson for the political course he had taken against the administration of Washington, but for the personal attacks he had made on that great and good man, and all the persons he had confided in during his administration—John Adams, John Jay, Timothy Pickering and Alexander Hamilton, all his cotemporaries. If these great and honest patriots were mistaken in any of their measures, they did not deserve the personal animadversions of Mr. Jefferson ; but Mr. Jefferson, in part to make amends for these errors, called into his cabinet the first men of his party for talents and integrity, such as Madison, Galatin, and Dearborn. There was no defalcations among the public officers during the eight years of his administering the government.

When General Dearborn was about to resign, the War Department was examined by James Hillhouse and Timothy Pickering, and every thing found correct ; and so they reported, although his political opponents. His integrity in the cabinet was as unimpeached as his courage and capacity had been conspicuous in the field. On resigning the War Department he was appointed Collector of the Port of Boston and Charlestown, the successor of General Lincoln, who had held the office under Washington, Adams and Jefferson ; in which office he remained until the nation, deeply wounded and dishonored by re-

urges a vigorous preparation for events. Accept my best respects and most friendly wishes.

“JAMES MADISON.”

On the receipt of this communication, General Dearborn, believing that the accumulated injuries which his country had received from Great Britain, and which still remained unredressed, required an appeal to the God of battles, informed the president that his life had ever been devoted to the service of his country, and he felt himself bound to obey her commands whenever his services were required.

Early in February, he received a letter from the President, dated January 28, in which he observes : “I have just received from the senate their concurrence (23 to 9) in your nomination as a major-general. I give you the earliest notice, that, without waiting for a formal communication, you may hasten your setting out for Washington. In order to afford the public the benefit of your councils here, it is very important that you be here without a moment's delay. In the hope of seeing you very speedily, and with every wish for your happiness, I tender assurances of my esteem and friendship.” The next day after the receipt of the foregoing communication—ever prompt to obey the commands of his country—he left Boston for the city of Washington, where he remained until the last of April, assisting in making those arrangements which were deemed necessary on the anticipated event of a declaration of war.

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movements in 1813, with the regular army, preserved Sackett's Harbor, when abandoned by the militia, and secured the fleet, then frozen up at that port, from a contemplated attack of the enemy. Previous to the General's departure from Albany, in February, 1813, he had ordered Generals Lewis and Boyd to the Niagara frontier, directing the former to prepare boats and scows, erect batteries, and make every necessary arrangement for an attack on Fort George.

After giving these orders, he repaired to Utica and Whitestown, made there arrangements for the transportation of troops down the Oswego to Sackett's Harbor, agreeably to a plan of operations which had been submitted to the secretary of war, and which was left to the general to carry into effect. The projected plan was to capture Little York, which would give Commodore Chauncey the command of the lake, render it impossible for the enemy to furnish their troops and Indians with stores, and cut off all communication between Kingston and Malden.

The plan was disclosed at the Harbor only to Commodore Chauncey and General Pike. General Lewis, then at Niagara, was advised of the movement, and ordered to be in readiness for an immediate attack on Fort George. After the capture of York, the troops were to be transported to Niagara, and make an instant attack on Fort George. This being effected, the army was to have been transported back to Sackett's Harbor; from whence, with additional troops collecting by previous orders, they were to make an attack on Kingston in its rear; while



on their beds in the fort, nor the battering cannon mounted, nor the boats to make the descent provided ; and General Winder with his brigade was at Black Rock, more than thirty miles distant from the mouth of the Niagara, where the descent on the Canadian shore was to be made.

Gen. Dearborn, who had long known Gen. Lewis, was personally attached to him, and therefore unwilling in the present instance to expose his want of activity to the government, by assigning his gross negligence of prescribed duties and of the positive instructions which had been given, as the cause of the postponement of the intended attack ; but, a few days after, fearful it was possible improper advantage might be taken, to his prejudice, of this magnanimous forbearance, in the event of disasters, (which ultimately was done) he apprized the secretary of war of all the circumstances which had occasioned the unlooked for delay in the movement of the army.

The general, thus circumstanced, knowing the enemy would be reinforced before the boats to be built would be in readiness to pass over the army, desired Commodore Chauncey to return to Sackett's Harbor, and in the interim bring up General Chandler's brigade. During this period, five batteries were erected above Fort Niagara, and the boats which had been commenced were ordered to be finished with all expedition, and brought round to Four Mile Creek ; the last was effected, on the river, under fire of the enemy's batteries, without any *loss*. Immediately on the return of the fleet with Gen.



the Niagara, he should be able to get the new ship out by the tenth of June, and that, in the mean time, the British would not dare to come out on the lake. They did appear, however, in a few days after the Commodore's departure, and thereby prevented the operations against the enemy which were contemplated. The roads were such, that it was impossible to transport provisions and supplies for the army by land; while it would have been madness to attempt it in batteaux by water, while the British fleet was on the lake. Thus situated, Gen. Dearborn determined to await the return of the Commodore, repair to Fort George, and be in readiness to move as soon as the fleet arrived. An express arrived from Commodore Chauncey, advising he could not move before the 30th of June.

At this period, Gen. Dearborn's health was reduced so low as to compel him to relinquish the immediate command of the army, and the command, *pro tem*, devolved on Gen. Boyd. A few days after, information was received that a party of British, Indians and militia, had established a post sixteen miles from Fort George, from whence were sent plundering parties in every direction, to harass and plunder those inhabitants who were friendly to the United States; and where a depot of provisions had been collected. It was of importance that this post should be broken up; and to put it beyond a doubt, that a plan to effect it should succeed, a select corps was formed of five hundred picked infantry, and a detachment of mounted volunteers, selected because they were acquainted with the country; also a detachment of light

ordered Colonel Christie, with a detachment of three or four hundred, to march ; who, upon his arrival at Queens-town, sent back an express that information was obtained, that at one o'clock Col. Boerstler surrendered. This report was considered impossible by all. The General renewed the order to push on. A short period after, a second express arrived from Col. Christie, stating that he had further positive information, that Boerstler had surrendered ; when the reinforcing detachment was ordered to return.

General Dearborn was censured for this affair, in anonymous letters published in the *National Intelligencer* fabricated at Washington, or by some of the *corps d'espionage* in the army. The unvarnished fact is, that Gen. Boyd ordered five hundred and sixty selected men to destroy a post, garrisoned, as he was informed, not by more than one hundred and eighty British, Indians and militia. It was for this public ostensible reason Gen. Dearborn was censured. The secret reason was known to the then Secretary of War, General John Armstrong.

The troops felt themselves disgraced by the surrender of Boerstler, while a gloom pervaded the army, which Gen. Dearborn found necessary to dissipate ; and his health improving, he the next morning resumed the command of the army. He was astonished to find that such was the panic occasioned by this affair, that every exertion was requisite to restore tranquility and firmness among the troops. A sentiment had gone abroad that the army must recross the Niagara, and abandon the Canadian shore.

14th of July, the extraordinary and unexpected order to retire from command, was received from the Secretary of War.

While Gen. Dearborn was confined to his quarters at Fort George, by severe indisposition, which made it necessary for him to relinquish the command of the army for a few days, General Lewis made a communication to the Secretary of War relative to the expedition to Stony Creek, in which he indelicately alluded to General Dearborn, and observed that, "*he would never be fit for service again.*" Gen. Dearborn wrote Gen. Lewis the following letter, as soon as he noticed his in the National Intelligencer.

"Niagara, July 7th, 1813.

DEAR SIR,—

Notwithstanding your gloomy predictions, in your official report to the Secretary of War; whether, '*Fit*' or '*Not*,' it is more than ten days since I reassumed the command of the army, and the 9th military district of course. Your delicate description of my state of health was peculiarly calculated for soothing the minds of my children and friends, who had been previously informed of my indisposition.

Your *motives* must be best known to yourself, but from your general deportment as a gentleman of sensibility and politeness, I could not have believed you capable of so far deviating from your usual character. In your account of the affair at Stony Creek, the decided and ~~positive~~ condemnation of a general officer, whose situa-

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was to be made use of *privately*, by being shown the President to injure Gen. Dearborn ; for if he believed Gen. Dearborn would never “ *be fit for service again,*” why did he urge him to *reassume the command* of the army, within five or six days after the date of the letter to Armstrong ; for the order to remove Gen. Dearborn was dated but a few days after Lewis’s communication was published in the *Intelligencer* ; notwithstanding the Secretary had *previously* received a letter from General Dearborn, informing him of the *rapid recovery of his health*, and that he had *reassumed the command* of the army, which letter, it is presumed he did not show the President, but ordered his immediate removal, which was with difficulty effected, as will appear from the following sketch of a conversation, which took place between Gen. Wilkinson and Armstrong on the subject. “ John Armstrong, Esq., Secretary of War, told General Wilkinson on the 1st or 2d of August, 1813, that it was with difficulty he could prevail on the President, calling him the “ *little man,*” to agree to the recall of General Dearborn from command, and informed Wilkinson at the same time, *that disobedience of orders* was one of the causes of Gen. Dearborn’s recall from command. He gave the same reason to Dr. Ball for Gen. Dearborn’s recall ; and in a series of documents respecting the campaign, which were submitted to General Wilkinson by Armstrong, the fact of Gen. Dearborn’s disobedience of orders, was endeavored to be sustained by the circumstance of his *attack on York*, instead of *Kingston*, as *he was ordered*. The assertion as to the *disobedience*



I shall repose in the soldierly qualities of the officers and men, will be a source of the most pleasing anticipations of their future glory. Were I permitted to consult my own feelings, no consideration would induce me to leave the army at this important crisis; *but the duty of a soldier is to obey the orders of his superiors.*

H. DEARBORN,

Maj. Gen. Com, Military District No. 9."

About twelve o'clock on the day the foregoing order was promulgated, the following address, signed by all the field and staff officers of the army, stationed at Fort George, was presented to General Dearborn,

Fort George, July 15, 1813.

TO MAJOR GENERAL DEARBORN, COMMANDING, &c. &c.

SIR,—

We, the undersigned, general and field officers of the army, who have served under your orders the present campaign, having heard with regret, that it is your intention to retire from your present command, beg leave respectfully to address you upon the subject. We are far from presuming, sir, to interfere with arrangements made by authority when announced, but humbly conceive the present circumstances of this army are such as will, when taken into serious consideration, convince you that your longer continuance with us is of the first importance, at this moment, if not absolutely *indispensable* to the good of the service. We are now in a hostile country, and in the immediate neighborhood of a pow-



duties in any event; but as soldiers and lovers of our country, we wish to perform our duties under the most favorable auspices; therefore we do most earnestly entreat you to postpone the resolution we understand you have taken, and to continue in the exercise of that command, which you have already holden with honor to yourself and country, and with what is of less consequence, the approbation of those who now address you. If, however, contrary to our ardent wishes, and contrary to what appear the exigencies of this army, you should feel yourself bound from any cause whatever, to withdraw from the frontier, in such event, we have to beg that you will please to bear with you, whithersoever you may go, the recollection of our great veneration for your revolutionary services; our respect for your political constancy and virtue; and the high sense in which we unanimously entertain of the benefits your country has already received at your hands, since the commencement of the present war. With these sentiments, and the best wishes for the speedy and perfect restoration of your health, we have the honor to be, with the highest gratitude and respect, your most obedient servants,

I. P. BOYD, Brigadier General.
 M. PORTER, Col. light artillery.
 JAMES BURNS, Col. 2d reg. drag.
 H. BRADY, Col. 22d infantry.
 C. PEARCE, Col. 16th infantry.
 JAMES MILLER, Col. 6th inf.
 W. SCOTT, Col. and Adj't Gen.
 E. BEEBE, Assistant Adj't Gen.
 H. V. MILTON, Lieut. Col. 8th inf.
 I. CHRYSTIE, Col. 22d infantry.
 I. P. PRESTON, Lt Col 12th inf com.
 J. P. MITCHELL, Lt Col 3rd artill
 J. L. SMITH, Lt. Col. 24th inf.

A. EUSTIS, Major light artillery
 T. A. POSEY, Major 5th inf.
 J. H. HUYICH, Major 13th inf.
 N. PINKEY, Major 5th reg't.
 R. LUCAS, Major 23d inf.
 I. WOODFORD, Maj. 2d reg. drag.
 J. JOHNSON, Major 21st inf.
 W. CUMMING, Major 8th inf.
 I. E. WOOL, Major infantry.
 W. MORGAN, Major 12th inf.
 B. FORSYTH, Major rifle reg't.
 A. M. MALCOMB, Major 13th inf.

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General Dearborn having determined to leave Fort George at three o'clock, all the officers waited on him at two, and, each shaking him by the hand, took an affectionate leave; then accompanied him to the banks of the Niagara, whence he embarked to cross the river. The military band placed in Brock's Bastion paid appropriate honors to their departing General, and a salute was fired from the ramparts of the fort. A troop of horse received him on the opposite shore, and escorted him to Lewistown. As soon as he reached Utica, he sent the following letter to the President of the United States :

“ *Utica, July 24, 1813.*

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES :

SIR—From the unequivocal and positive order received from the Secretary of War, (a copy of which I take the liberty of enclosing,) I had no option, but implicit obedience; and I retired within twenty-four hours after the receipt of that order. My health had so much improved as to enable me to resume the command of the troops on the 16th of June, of which I had informed the Secretary of War. By a letter from the War Department, of the 27th of May, I am informed that Major General Hampton would set out on the next day for this army. I anxiously expected his arrival by the 18th or 20th June; but, by a letter dated the 30th of June, the Secretary of War gave me the *first notice* of the formation of an army in Vermont, and of the destination of Generals Hampton and Parker to that army.

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casion, but it was made impossible by a severe illness, from which I am now barely enough recovered for a journey to the mountains, prescribed by my physicians as indispensable. It would have been entirely agreeable to me if, as I took for granted was the case, you had executed your original intention, of providing for your health by exchanging the sickliness of Niagara for some eligible spot ; and I sincerely lament every pain to which you have been subsequently exposed, from whatever circumstance it has proceeded.

How far the investigation you refer to would be regular, I am not prepared to say. You have seen the motion in the House of Representatives, comprehending such an object, and the prospect held out of resuming the subject at another session. I am persuaded that you will not lose in any respect by the effect of time and truth. Accept my respects and best wishes.

JAMES MADISON.

MAJOR GENERAL DEARBORN."

General Dearborn was not ignorant who his *best personal friends*, mentioned in the above letter, were ; and after a constant effort of more than a year, the Secretary of War and similar friends had been able to succeed in the recall of General Dearborn ; and we shall see that he succeeded more fully in effecting his object against General Harrison, whose resignation took place soon after, in consequence of the repeated insults he received from the War Department. To the above letter of the President's, General Dearborn replied :

In the order I complain of, it being explicitly expressed that it came directly from the President of the United States, will, I hope, be admitted as an apology for my having addressed my observations directly to yourself. I shall rely with the fullest confidence, sir, on your justice for such fair and honorable proceedings as my situation demands. That your health may be speedily re-established is, sir, the sincere prayer of your most obedient and humble servant.

H. DEARBORN."

Notwithstanding General Dearborn had requested not to be ordered on duty until his military conduct had been investigated by a competent tribunal, a different course was pursued by the President.

In the later part of August, Col. G. G. Conner, one of General Dearborn's aids, requested that he might be permitted to join his regiment on the frontiers, where he could be actively employed. On his arrival at Sackett's Harbor, he waited on General Armstrong, and stated the object of his return to the army. General Armstrong informed him he had just received the directions of the President to order General Dearborn to assume the command of District No. 3, as it was expected the British contemplated an attack on New-York, and advised him to return immediately to General Dearborn. In a few days after, the following order was received by General Dearborn :

be for ever precluded from having an opportunity to defend himself before a military tribunal, which he sanguinely anticipated ; and for which, on his arrival at New-York, he reiterated his request.

After the disgraceful close of the campaign of 1813, conducted by Armstrong, Wilkinson, and Hampton, he had an interview with Gen. Armstrong at New York, as he passed through the city from the frontier to Washington, and urged that a court should be immediately organized, as during the winter a sufficient number of General officers could be spared from their command for that service. Gen. Armstrong endeavored to dissuade him from such a measure, and assured him that no blame was attached to him, and that his whole conduct met the approbation of the Government ; that a court was not in the least necessary, for there were no charges to be preferred against him. General Dearborn observed, whatever might be the sentiments of the national Executive, it was notorious his reputation suffered in public estimation, as the correspondence on the subject could not be laid before the public in a manner which corresponded with his feelings as an officer, nor was the favorable opinion entertained by the Government known to the world ; and there was no way of doing him ample justice, but by the promulgation of the decision of a competent court, which would be as notorious as the fact of his unprecedented removal. It was an act of justice due to him, and he owed it to himself, children, friends, and the people of the United States, to demand *a right a Court of Inquiry, and which he should*
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command, that strong impressions had been made on the mind of the President, to my prejudice, previous to his giving explicit directions for that measure, as expressed in the order for my removal.

"Tis therefore-evidently necessary, that a fair and impartial investigation should be had; not only as an act of common justice due to myself, but for affording such information and satisfaction to the public, as ought not to be withheld. I therefore, do most earnestly request, that a Court of Inquiry be ordered for the investigation of my conduct generally, while commanding the 9th Military District; and particularly in relation to such parts thereof, as the President of the United States may have deemed improper; and I must take the liberty of requesting that I may not be ordered on any command until I have been indulged with such an investigation."

I have the honor to be &c.,

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. JOHN ARMSTRONG, Secretary of War.

The next spring, finding his demand was still waived, he wrote to the Secretary of State, and desired him to lay the subject before the President, who returned the following answer.

Washington, June 15, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

"I ought to have answered your letter sooner, especially as it related to a subject which I find deeply



opened to others, who, whatever may have been their merits, have not placed you in an unfavorable light before our country. What you did, gained you credit. Had you been continued on the frontiers exposed to the changes of the seasons, and extraordinary fatigues of the campaign, and sunk under them by ill health, reproach and censure might have fallen heavily on you, as well as the Government.

"I am, however, far from dissuading you from taking any course, which, on great consideration, you may find essential to your honor or happiness, I only wish, that it may not be done under improper impression, and that in taking that which you seem to contemplate, it may be done at a suitable time. In pursuing any object which you may have in view, I beg you to command my services without reserve. Be assured it will give me sincere pleasure to be useful to you. Always recollecting as Mrs. Monroe and I do, with deep interest, our meeting with your lady in London, and the very friendly intercourse which passed between us and our families, at a time the most interesting to our country and ourselves, we beg you to assure her of our constant affection and regards. With great respect and esteem, believe me, my dear sir,"

Sincerely yours,
JAMES MONROE.

MAJOR GENERAL DEARBORN.

After Mr. Monroe was appointed Secretary of War, he wrote him again, on the subject of a *Court of Inquiry*

others of glory, but you will find an indemnity for it in the advantages derived from it to your country. I requested General Swift to consult you and the other members of the board on the extent and manner of the reduction to a peace establishment, that I might avail myself of your reflections without compromising either of you. The passion is strong for extensive reduction. I hope it may be confined within proper limits. Perhaps you might be disposed to make a visit here. I should be happy to see you. With great respect and esteem,"

I am sincerely yours,
JAMES MONROE.

Notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of General Dearborn to obtain a hearing before a Court of Inquiry, that request was denied, and justice withheld from him; but if any doubts should have existed as to the estimation in which General Dearborn was held by the President, the following letter removes them :

Washington, March 4th, 1815.

DEAR SIR,

"Being desirous for obtaining for the Department of War services which I thought you could render with peculiar advantage, and hoping that, for a time at least, you might consent to step into that Department, I took the liberty, without a previous communication, for which there was no time, to nominate you as successor to Mr. Monroe, who was called back to the Department of State. I had not a doubt, from all the calculations I

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the whole transaction, which had done so much injury to a faithful, zealous, and deserving officer. They were astonished, and said, if this development had preceded the nomination, it would have been instantly confirmed.

It is to that *conversation* that the President alludes in the last clause of the forgoing letter, and a burst of indignation which assailed his ears from some of the friends of General Dearborn, who were acquainted with the facts, and openly declared their sentiments as to the wrongs done to a soldier who had grown gray in the service of his country—to a hero of the Revolution—who, when injured was denied the rights of an officer, and coldly neglected for “*time and truth*” to obliterate a stain imposed by executive injustice.

Those *best personal friends*, mentioned in the letter of the President of the 8th of August, were made to believe it was more for their *interest to destroy* the reputation of General Dearborn, than *vindicate* him when aspersed. They were such friends as for the time wear the mask of sincerity, but can throw it off when such an act of baseness will have a tendency to better their situation. They acted their part in such a manner as to *deceive* the President, and *hoped* to elude the suspicions of General Dearborn; but he knew them well, and the reasons which induced them to wrong him.

The tide of war had been changed by the capture of York and Fort George. Previously the arms of the United States had been disgraced, and accumulated *disasters* marked the events of the preceding campaigns.

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born, in the shape of "extracts of letters from respectable officers of the army." Those "*respectable officers*" were early known to General Dearborn, but such was his confidence in the President, and the officers generally of the army, who duly appreciated his talents, and worth, and consciousness of his devotion to the best interests of his country, that he smiled at the indications of the impending storm which was lowering in the horizon for his destruction. Stimulated by the ambition of a Caesar, the Rubicon of honor was, for the *second* time, passed, and with the sanguine anticipations of a Richard, the author of the Newburgh Letters, *the future hero of the north*, hurried to pitch his tent in *Bosworth fields*. Those friends of General Dearborn, who were so solicitous for his disgrace, had *golden* hopes from this event. But the disastrous and disgraceful movements of the army, under the guidance of the Secretary of War, caused those hopes to wither, and the triumphal entry of the British into the city of Washington blasted them for ever. The descent of the St. Lawrence and the Bladensburgh retreat *damned Armstrong*, and General Dearborn's "*best personal friends*" lost their *anticipated reward*, for assisting to blast his reputation.

At the close of the war, honorable to the American arms and character, General Dearborn was called on by the government for his aid and advice in the reduction of the army to the peace establishment, and the retention of the most suitable and competent officers to be continued in command. That this delicate operation when *many good officers* must be dismissed, was performed

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port of Boston, Commander-in-chief of the army, and Foreign minister.

In all these important offices he acted with ability, integrity, and the most unsullied reputation as a patriot. On the 6th of June, 1829, at his seat at Roxbury, Mass., he died, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

General Dearborn was stout and active, six feet full in height, strong, and in middle age not too much encumbered with flesh : in after life his flesh rather increased. He was exactly fitted for the toils, fatigues and pomp of war. His countenance and whole person was dignified and commanding. His weight was considerably above two hundred. His mind was solid and comprehensive, which entitled him to the highest military stations.

There was a loftiness in his character which forbade resort to intrigue and hypocrisy, in the accomplishment of his views, and he rejected the contemptible practice of disparaging others to exalt himself. He was beneficent to his friends, but reserved and cold toward those whose correctness in moral principles became doubtful in his mind.

As a soldier, he was a rigid, but not a severe disciplinarian ; he obeyed readily his superior, and required the like obedience from his inferior. From his active mind and athletic body, he was from early life a sportsman, and indulged in the amusement of fishing. His fowling-piece and every accompaniment was always in readiness, as well as his fishing-apparatus, which, in the latter part of *his life*, he carried with him in his every journey to

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vived all his wives, with whom he lived in perfect domestic happiness, more than fifty years.

It is only known that one daughter and one son, by his second wife, survive him. The daughter has long been respectably and eligibly married, residing in Maine. From her purity of character and good sense, she is distinguished in the society in which she moves. The son is resident in the vicinity of Boston, who bears the name of his father, to which is added the name of Alexander Scammell, who has been previously mentioned in this sketch.

It is believed the son, in a good measure, sustains the excellencies and virtues of the persons whose names he bears : if so, few men, if any, can stand higher. To place these children where only they could wish to be placed, is to say what is known of them : they appreciate the character of their parent, remember his example, and follow his precepts. General Dearborn continued through life in that branch of the Christian church in which he had been educated—the Congregational : not that he believed it essential that the true worshipper of the Father should attach himself to any one sect or denomination, but he did believe that the Congregational order was more congenial to our republican institutions, apostolic example and precept, and, more than all, gave fuller latitude to the exercise of private judgment in everything ecclesiastical and religious. He believed it Life to believe on the one true God, and Jesus Christ whom he sent ; and he believed this Teacher was the Way, the Truth, and the Life. In this belief he left this

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be here inserted, as well for its apparent accuracy and truth, as giving a specimen of his style of writing :

“ On the 16th of June, 1775, it was determined that a fortified post should be established at or near Bunker's Hill. A detachment of the army was ordered to advance early in the evening of that day, and commence the erection of a strong work on the heights in the rear of Charlestown, at that time called Breed's Hill ; but, from its proximity to Bunker's Hill, the battle has taken its name from the latter eminence, which overlooks it.

“ The work was commenced and carried on under the direction of such engineers as we were able to procure at that time. It was a square redoubt, the curtains of which were about sixty or seventy feet in extent, with an intrenchment extending fifty or sixty feet from the northern angle, toward Mystic river. In the course of the night, the ramparts had been raised to the height of six or seven feet, with a small ditch at their base ; but it was yet in an imperfect state. Being in full view from the northern heights of Boston, it was discovered by the enemy at daylight, and a determination was formed by General Gage for dislodging our troops from this new and alarming position. Arrangements were promptly made for effecting this important object. The movement of the British troops, indicating an attack, were soon discovered ; in consequence of which, orders were immediately issued for the march of a considerable part of our army, to reinforce the detachment at the redoubts on Breed's Hill ; but such was the imperfect state of discipline, the want

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thrown across it, of round, bar and chain shot, from the Lively frigate and floating batteries anchored in Charles river and a floating battery lying in the river Mystic. Major McClary went forward and observed to the commanders, if they did not intend to move on, he wished them to open and let our regiment pass: the latter was immediately done. My company being in front, I marched by the side of Col. Stark; who moving with a very deliberate pace, I suggested the propriety of quickening the march of the regiment, that it might sooner be relieved from the galling cross-fire of the enemy. With a look peculiar to himself, he fixed his eyes upon me, and observed with great composure, 'Dearborn, one fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones,' and continued to advance in the same cool and collected manner. When we had reached Bunker's Hill, where General Putnam had taken his station, the regiment halted for a few minutes for the rear to come up. Soon after, the enemy were discovered to have landed on the shore at Morton's Point, in front of Breed's Hill, under cover of a tremendous fire of shot and shells from a battery on Cop's Hill, in Boston, which had opened on the redoubt at day-break.

"Major-general Howe and Brigadier-general Pigot were the commanders of the British forces which first landed, consisting of four battalions of infantry, ten companies of grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a train of artillery. They formed as they disembarked, but remained in that position until they were reinforced. At this moment the veteran and gallant Stark harangued



parade, and opened a brisk but regular fire by platoons, which was returned by a well-directed, rapid and fatal discharge from our whole line.

"The action soon became general, and very heavy from right to left. In ten or fifteen minutes the enemy gave away at all points, and retreated in great disorder, leaving a large number of dead and wounded on the field. The firing ceased for a short time, when the enemy formed, advanced, and re-commenced a spirited fire from his whole line. Several attempts were again made to turn our left, but the troops having thrown up a slight stone wall on the bank of the river, and laying down behind it, gave such a deadly fire, as cut down almost every man of the party opposed to them; while the fire from the redoubt and the rail fence was so well directed and so fatal, especially to the British officers, that the whole army was compelled a second time to retreat with precipitation and great confusion. At this time the ground was covered with the dead and wounded. Only a few small detached parties again advanced, which kept up a distant, ineffectual, scattering fire, until a strong reinforcement arrived from Boston, which advanced on the southern declivity of the hill, in the rear of Charlestown; it wheeled by platoons to the right and advanced directly on the redoubt, without firing a gun. By this time our ammunition was exhausted; a few only had a charge left.

"The advancing column made an attempt to carry the redoubt by assault; but, at the first onset, every man that mounted the parapet was cut down by the troops within,

"The whole of our troops now descended the north-west declivity of Bunker's Hill, and re-crossed the Neck. The New Hampshire line towards Winter Hill, and the others on to Prospect Hill. Some slight works were thrown up in the course of the evening—strong advance pickets were posted on the roads leading to Charlestown, and the troops, anticipating an attack, rested on their arms.

"It is a most extraordinary fact that the British did not make a single charge during the battle, which, if attempted, would have proved fatal and decisive, as the Americans did not carry fifty bayonets into the field. In my company there was but one. Soon after the commencement of the action, a detachment from the British force in Boston landed in Charlestown; and within a few moments the whole town was in a blaze. A dense column rose to a great height, and there being a gentle breeze from the southwest, it hung like a thunder-cloud over the contending armies. A very few houses escaped the dreadful conflagration of this devoted town.

"From similar mistakes, the field-ammunition furnished for the field-pieces, was calculated for guns of a larger calibre, which prevented the use of field-artillery on both sides. There was no cavalry in either army.

"From the ships of war and a large battery on Copp's Hill, a heavy cannonade was kept up upon our line and redoubt, from the commencement to the close of the action and during the retreat; but with little effect, except killing the brave Maj. Andrew M'Clary of Col. Stark's regiment, soon after we retreated from Bunker's Hill.

forward and fell dead upon his face. I had him carried to Medford, where he was interred, with all the respect and honors we could exhibit to the manes of a great and good man. He was my bosom friend ; we had grown up together on terms of the greatest intimacy, and I loved him as a brother.

“ My position in the battle, more the result of accident than any regularity of formation, was on the right of the line at the rail-fence, which afforded me a fair view of the whole scene of action.

“ Our men were intent on cutting down every officer they could distinguish in the British line. When any of them discovered one he would instantly exclaim, ‘ there ! see that officer ! let us have a shot at him ! ’ when two or three would fire at the same moment ; and as our soldiers were excellent marksmen and rested their muskets over the fence, they were sure of their object. An officer was discovered to mount near the position of Gen. Howe, on the left of the British line, and ride towards our left ; which a column was endeavoring to turn. This was the only officer on horseback during the day, and as he approached the rail-fence, I heard a number of our men observe, ‘ there ! there ! see that officer on horseback ; let us fire. ’ ‘ No, not yet ; wait until he gets to that little knoll — now ! ’ — when they fired and he instantly fell dead from his horse. It proved to be Major Pitcairn, a distinguished officer.

“ The fire of the enemy was so badly directed, I should presume that forty-nine balls out of fifty passed from one *six* feet over our heads ; for I noticed an apple-tree,

terity will appreciate his worth and do honor to his memory. He is immortalized as a patriot, who gloriously fell in defence of freedom.

"The number of our troops in action, as near as I was able to ascertain, did not exceed fifteen hundred. The force of the British at the commencement of the action, was estimated at about the same number, but they were frequently reinforced. Had our ammunition held out, or had we been supplied with only fifteen or twenty rounds, I have no doubt that we should have killed and wounded the greatest part of their army and compelled the remainder to have laid down their arms; for it was with the greatest difficulty that they were brought up the last time. Our fire was so deadly, particularly to the officers, that it would have been impossible to have resisted it, but for a short time longer.

"I did not see a man quit his post during the action, and do not believe a single soldier who was brought into the field, fled, until the whole army was obliged to retreat for want of powder and ball.

"The total loss of the British was about twelve hundred; upward of five hundred killed, and between six and seven hundred wounded. The Welsh fusileers suffered most severely; they came into action five hundred strong, and all were killed or wounded but eighty-three.

"I will mention an extraordinary circumstance to show how far the temporary reputation of a man may affect the minds of all classes of society.

"General Putnam had entered our army at the commencement of the revolutionary war, with such a uni-

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against the conduct of Gen. Putnam, *whose extraordinary popularity* alone saved him, not only from trial, but even from censure. Col. Gerrish commanded a regiment, and should have been at its head. His regiment was not in action, although ordered ; but as he was in the suit of the general, and appeared to be in the situation of adjutant-general, why was he not directed by Putnam to join it, or the regiment sent into action under the senior officer present with it ?

“ When Gen. Putnam’s ephemeral and unaccountable popularity subsided or faded away, and the minds of the people were released from the shackles of a delusive trance, the circumstances relating to Bunker Hill were viewed and talked of in a very different light ; and the selection of the unfortunate Col. Gerrish as a scape-goat considered as a mysterious and inexplicable event.

“ I have no private feeling to gratify by making this statement in relation to Gen. *Putnam*, as I never had any intercourse with him, and was only in the army where he was present, for a few months ; but at this late period, I conceive it a duty to give a fair and impartial account of one of the most important battles during the war of independence, and all the circumstances connected with it so far as I had the means of being correctly informed.

“ It is a duty I owe to posterity, and the character of those brave officers who bore a share in the hardships of the revolution.

“ Nothing like discipline had entered our army at that time. Gen. Ward, then commander-in-chief, remained

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accuracy of the account in every other particular. Col. Putnam wrote and expressed himself with much warmth; calling Dearborn hard names, and denouncing him as a disgraced General and base slanderer. Unfortunately for the truth of history, it was a time of great political excitement, Gen. Dearborn being at the time the Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, and General John Brooks the opposing or Federal candidate. The writer, at the time was a voter in that state, and for two successive years deposited his vote in favor of Brooks, who both years obtained the election. He is not sensible of having any predilection in favor of Dearborn, either personally or politically, neither has he the least objection to him or his statement in itself; the truth being the only object in such a case, and the only issue before the public. Colonel Putnam further stated with great confidence, that the conduct of his father was such during the war, as to secure the entire confidence of Congress, Washington and the public. His pamphlet is not now before me and I write from recollection.

In support of the charges against Dearborn and in defence of his father, he published the following letters, from Colonels Trumbull and Grosvenor. "In the summer of 1786, I became acquainted in London, with Col. John Small, of the British army, who had served in America many years, and had known General Putnam intimately during the war of Canada from 1756 to 1763. From him I had the two following anecdotes respecting the battle of Bunker Hill; I shall nearly repeat his words; looking at the picture which I had almost com-

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spot, "my dear friend," I said to him, "I hope you are not badly hurt;" he looked up, seemed to recollect me, smiled and died! A musket ball had passed through the upper part of his head.

JOHN TRUMBULL."

"DANIEL PUTNAM, Esq."

In addition to the above, the following letter from Judge Thomas Grosvenor, of Pomfret, addressed to Col. Putnam son of the General, was published to repel the statement of General Dearborn. "Being under the command of Gen. Putnam, part of our regiment and a much larger number of Massachusetts' troops under Col. Prescott were ordered to march, on the evening of the sixteenth of June, 1775, to Breed's Hill, where under the immediate superintendence of Gen. Putnam, ground was broken and a redoubt formed. On the following day, the seventeenth, dispositions were made to deter the advance of the enemy, as there was reason to believe an immediate attack was intended. Gen. Putnam during the period was extremely active, and directed principally the operations. All were animated, and their General inspired confidence by his example. The British army having made dispositions for landing at Morton's Point, were covered by the fire, shot and shells from Copp's Hill, in Boston, which it had opened on our redoubt early in the morning, and continued the greatest part of the day. At this moment a detachment of four lieutenants (of which I was one) and one hundred and twenty men, selected the previous day from General

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was nearly equal. Of my own immediate command of thirty men and one subaltern, there were eleven killed and wounded ; among the latter was myself, though not so severely as to prevent my retiring. At the rail fence there was not posted any corps save our own under Knowlton, when the firing commenced ; nor did I hear of any other being there till long after the action. Other troops, it was said, were ordered to join, but refused doing so. Of the officers on the ground, the most active within my observation, were General Putnam, Colonel Prescott and Captain Knowlton ; but no doubt there were many more, equally brave and meritorious, who must naturally have escaped the eye of one attending to his own immediate command."

The subjoined letter from Washington to Putnam, taken from Humphrey's Life of Putnam, seems to have been in answer to a letter of Putnam's to him, the design of which was to obtain Washington's opinion and influence to secure his pay when not in service. This letter was published by Col. Putnam to show the entire confidence Washington always reposed in Gen. Putnam his father, and thereby lessen the weight of Dearborn's statement.

" Head Quarters, 2d June, 1783."

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 20th May I received with much pleasure. For I can assure you that among the many worthy and meritorious officers with whom I have

more than half an hour before the action commenced, nearly or quite three o'clock in the afternoon. Grosvenor does not say he saw Putnam in the action, although willing it should so be believed. No part of his statement, bears favorably or unfavorably on Dearborn, directly, but is strong negative testimony in support of it. Washington's opinion of Putnam will be noticed hereafter.

After the above statements were published, and many anonymous publications, in the prints of the day, tending to keep up a strong feeling against General Dearborn; he caused to be published in a Boston paper, what follows :—

“As it appears from various publications that *attempts* have been made to invalidate the account, which I have given of the battle of Bunker Hill, and thus to produce an excitement against me, not warranted by facts, I have been induced to have the following documents made public. If there are any persons of *candid* and *unprejudiced minds*, who have *conceived* there were some grounds for doubting the general correctness of my observations, in relation to that memorable event, the concurring declarations of many respectable characters may afford them satisfaction.”

H. DEARBORN.

Boston, June 10th, 1818.



than any statement I have seen. I went on to the hill about 11 o'clock, A. M., on the 17th. When I arrived at the summit of Bunker Hill, I saw there two pieces of cannon, and two or three soldiers standing by them, who said they belonged to Capt. Callender's company, and that the officers had run away. Gen. Putnam sat there upon a horse. I saw nobody else but him and the before mentioned soldiers. The general *requested* our company (which was commanded by Capt. John Ford, of Ohelmsford, Massachusetts) to take these cannon down to the lines; which they refused to do, saying they had no knowledge of the use of artillery, but were ready to fight with their own arms. Capt. Ford then addressed his company in a very animated strain, which had the desired effect, and they seized the ropes, and soon drew the cannon to the rail fence.

"I think I saw Gen. Putnam at that place, looking for something he had lost. I did not hear him give any orders, or assume any command, except at the top of Bunker Hill, when I was going to the field of action. I remained at the rail fence until all the powder and ball were spent. I had a full view of the movements of the enemy, and I think your statement of the order of the day, and of the two contending armies, correct, and cannot be denied with the semblance of truth. Excuse an old soldier.

"I am, sir, &c.,

"B. PIERCE.

"Maj. Gen. HENRY DEARBORN."

Journal of the American Medical Association

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The following is a list of the names of the

persons who have been elected to the

positions of the Board of Directors on the

1st day of January, 1911, in the

year 1911, and the names of the

persons who have been elected to the

positions of the Board of Directors on the

1st day of January, 1912, in the

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year 1916, and the names of the

persons who have been elected to the

positions of the Board of Directors on the

1st day of January, 1917, in the

year 1917, and the names of the

trenching tools. I immediately left them, went over the Neck, and there continued dressing the wounded until the engagement was over.

"I am, sir, &c.,

"THOMAS KITTRIDGE.

"Gen. H. A. S. DEARBORN."

"I, Samuel Lawrence, of Groton, Esquire, testify and say, that I was at the battle of Bunker Hill, (so called) in Col. Wm. Prescott's regiment; that I marched with the regiment to the point on Breed's Hill, which was fixed on for a redoubt; that I assisted in throwing up the work, and in forming a redoubt, under Col. Prescott, who directed the whole of this operation. The work was begun about nine o'clock in the evening of June 16, 1775. I was there the whole time, and continued in the redoubt, or in the little fort, during the whole battle until the enemy came in and a retreat was ordered.

"Gen. Putnam was not present either while the works were erecting, or during the battle. I could distinctly see the rail fence and the troops stationed there during the battle, but Gen. Putnam was not present as I saw. Just before the battle commenced, Gen. Warren came to the redoubt. He had on a blue coat, white waistcoat, and I think a cocked hat, but of this I am not certain. Col. Prescott advanced to him, said he was glad to see him, and hoped he would take the command. General Warren replied, 'No, he came to see the action, but not to take command; that he was only a volunteer on that day.' Afterwards I saw Gen. Warren shot; I saw him

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"In the month of May or June, 1795, being in the island of Guernsey, I had occasion in the course of business to call upon Maj. (alias Col. Small,) the governor. After closing my business with him, he remarked that my countenance was not new to him, and inquired where he had seen me. I replied, that it must have been at Col. Ingersoll's tavern, in Boston—and that I had once been opposed to him in action. He immediately entered into a free and general conversation on the battle of Bunker's Hill; but he made no inquiry after Gen. Putnam, nor did he in any way, either directly or indirectly, allude to him, either as a friend or an officer.

"SAMUEL R. TREVETT.

"Boston, June 2, 1818."

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT BRADFORD WILKINS.

"I, Robert B. Wilkins, of Concord, county of Rockingham, State of New Hampshire, do testify and say, that I acted as a private soldier in the battle of Breed's Hill, otherwise called the battle of Bunker's Hill, on the 17th of June, 1775; that I was attached to Capt. Levi Spaulding's company, of Col. Jas. Reed's regiment. That I was on that day stationed at Charlestown, below the Neck and on the main street; that our company proceeded from thence on to Bunker's Hill, over the hollow and on to Breed's Hill; that after our company arrived at the works, near Mystic river, I was sent back on an errand, by the captain, to the house where we had been stationed, and on returning by a route nearer to the *back*, than that we first passed, I saw Gen. Putnam with

kept a notice of the subject of our conversation. I found him in great good humor, and soon upon his old war stories, which I did not take care minutely to preserve, because Maj. Caleb Stark had told me he was collecting every thing worthy of the public eye, and to be published after his father's decease, and in due honor of his memory. As among other objects, I intended to get a likeness, and was uncertain of success, among the maps, prints, and papers I carried him, were some portraits, and among them was one of Gen. Putnam. I recollect upon the sight of the head of General Putnam he said, 'My champlain,' as he called me, you know my opinion of that man. Had he done his duty, he would have decided the fate of his country in the first action. He then proceeded to describe to me the scene of action and the 'pen,' as he called the enclosed works, and breast-works, and gave his reason for not entering it, and the want of judgment in the works. He then told me where he saw General Putnam and what was done on the occasion, and his remarks were as severe as his genius and the sentiments of ardent patriotism could make them. As Gen. Stark always used the same language on the subject, it will be recollected by many of his friends.

"WILLIAM BENTLEY."

CERTIFICATE OF THE REV. DANIEL CHAPLIN, D.D., OF GROTON, AND REV. JOHN BULLARD, OF PEPPERELL.

"This may certify the public, that we whose names we have given, were in the habits of intimacy with Col.

Prescott, of Pepperell, a man of the strictest integrity,

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that day, except that just before the attack was made, he might have gone to the fort and ordered the tools to be carried off, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy in the event of his carrying the works, and holding the ground ; and that he and his men, with Colonel Gerrish, remained on the side of Bunker Hill towards the Neck during the whole action.

“ (Signed) DANIEL CHAPLIN,
 “ Groton, June 5, 1818. JOHN BULLARD.”

STATEMENT OF THE HON. ABEL PARKER, JUDGE
 OF PROBATE.

“As I was in the battle on Breed's Hill, otherwise called Bunker's Hill, on the 17th day of June, 1775, and there received one ball through my leg, another having passed through my clothes, all accounts of that battle which I have seen published, have been to me extremely interesting. But I have never seen any account which I considered in any degree correct, until the one by Gen. Dearborn. On perusing that account with the utmost attention, I could discover but one mistake, and that related to his assertion, ‘that there was not a man that flinched,’ or to that effect, for his narrative is not now before me, and even in that case, I believe the General's assertion may be strictly true, if his meaning be confined to the time after his arrival on the hill. Previous to that, there were many who left the ground at the fort, particularly at the landing of the British troops ; but after the commencement of the battle with small arms, I know of no man's leaving his post,

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a small fort. In the morning, not far from sun-rising, the alarm was fired from the British vessel lying in the river. Sometime after this, Nutting's company left the town, and marched to join the regiment on the hill.—When we arrived there, the fort was in considerable forwardness, and the troops commenced throwing up the breast-work mentioned by Gen. Dearborn. We had not long been employed in that work, before the cannon shot from a hill in Boston, and the vessels lying in the river were poured in upon us in great profusion. However, the work progressed until it would answer the purpose for which it was designed. But the firing from the British artillery continued with unabated fury. Sometime before this, there was brought to the fort several brass field pieces, one of which was actually fired towards Boston ; but the ball did not reach the town. It had this effect, however, on the British, that it made them double their diligence in firing upon us. In the time of this heavy fire, I, for the first time that day, saw Gen. *Putnam* standing with others, under cover of the north wall of the fort, where, I believe, he remained until the British troops made their appearance in their boats. At this time the artillery was withdrawn from the fort, but by whose orders I know not, and Gen. *Putnam*, at, or near the same time, left the fort. The removing of the artillery, and Gen. *Putnam's* departure, took place a little before, (if my memory be correct) the New Hampshire troops made their appearance on the hill. I saw them when they arrived, and witnessed their dexterity in throwing up their breast-work of rails and hay.

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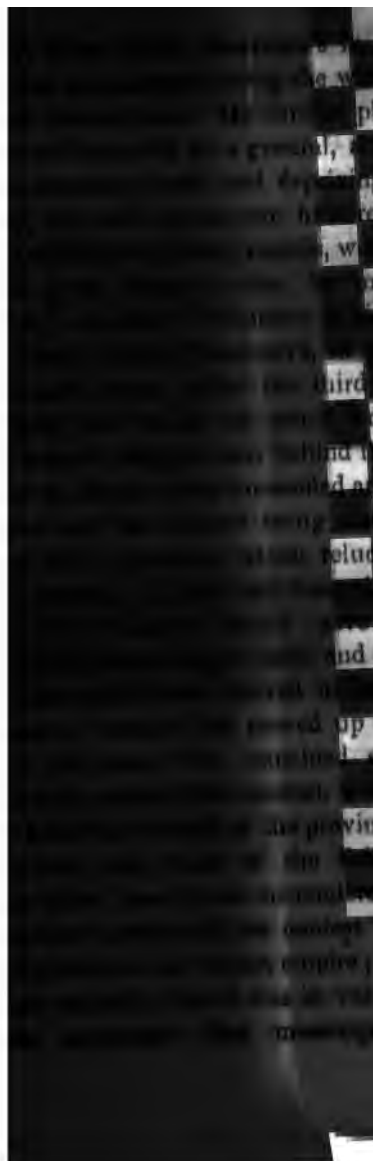
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They all give their statements, without dictation, writing separately, at different times and places. They were not invited by public advertisements to appear to give testimony; nor were agents employed to travel the country to get up testimony. That the opposition to Dearborn's account arose, in some measure, from the political feelings of the day, may be presumed, from the circumstance, that General Heath in his account of Breed's Hill battle, published in 1798, says:—

“Perhaps there never was a better fought battle than this, all things considered, and too much praise can never be bestowed on the conduct of Col. William Prescott, who, notwithstanding any thing that may have been said, *was the proper commanding officer*, at the redoubt, and nobly acted his part as such, during the whole action. Just before the action began, General Putnam came to the redoubt, and told Colonel Prescott that the entrenching tools must be sent off, or they would be lost; the Colonel replied, that if he sent any of the men away with the tools, not one of them would return, to this the General answered, ‘they shall every man return.’ A large party was then sent away with the tools, and not one of them returned; in this instance the Colonel was the best judge of human nature. In the time of action, Colonel Prescott observed the brave General Warren was near the works; he immediately stepped up to him, and asked him if he had any orders to give him. The General replied that he had none, that he exercised no command there, ‘the command,’ *said the General*, ‘is yours.’ Heath’s account appeared



Putnam to come to his succor ; he rode about Bunker's Hill, while the battle raged under his eye, with a number of entrenching tools slung across his horse, but did not advance a step, and was passed, with Colonel Gerrish by his side, by Stark and Dearborn, as they retreated, near the spot where they saw him when they advanced ; and for this conduct Colonel Prescott never ceased to reprobate the General."

This high authority quoted by Wilkinson, was probably Colonel Stark, for he says he had the details of the battle from him on the field, the 17th of March 1776, the day the British left that post, when he observed "the dead lay as thick as sheep in a fold," before the rail fence. Heath and Wilkinson having been before the public, the one nearly fifty years, and the other twenty, uncontradicted and acquiesced in, while Dearborn was attacked in the most violent manner, and personal abuse heaped upon him, makes it more than probable that the political excitement of the day, or other sinister views and objects, had an undue weight.

In every controversy about the truth of history, or the conduct of an individual in exalted station, on any particular occasion, and that controversy of recent origin, it is prudent and safe to call in the aid of authorities of earlier date, and who lived and wrote, at or near the time, the event in controversy happened. On referring to Marshall, Ramsey, Lendrum, General H. Lee, and other respectable historians, it is found they do not *mention* the name of Putnam, as taking any part in the

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others gave a full and flat denial, and published Washington's letter to Putnam already cited, in confirmation of their assertion, that his popularity never did *subside or fade away*. In justice to Gen. Dearborn, the following letters and orders from Gen. Washington and others are given, that the reader may be more fully in possession of the facts, as to the above declaration of Dearborn.

Extract of a letter from John Adams to his wife, while member of Congress, and in session at Baltimore, and when the business of the army was especially before that body, for on the day the letter was written, nine individuals were appointed Brigadier Generals, viz. Poor, Patterson, Wayne, Varnum, De Haas, Weedon, Muhlenburg, Cadwallader and Woodford.

“*Baltimore, 21st February, 1777.*”

I sincerely wish we could hear more from General Heath. Many persons are extremely dissatisfied with numbers of the general officers of the highest rank. I don't mean the Commander-in-Chief, his character is justly very high, but Putnam, Spencer and Heath, are thought by very few to be capable of the high commands they hold. We hear of none of their heroic deeds in arms. I wish they would all resign.”

About the same time Robert R. Livingston, then Chancellor of New-York, wrote Washington. “Your Excellency,” said he, “is not ignorant of the extent of Gen. Putnam's *capacity* and *diligence*; and how well soever they may qualify him for this important command, [the Highlands,] the prejudices to which his

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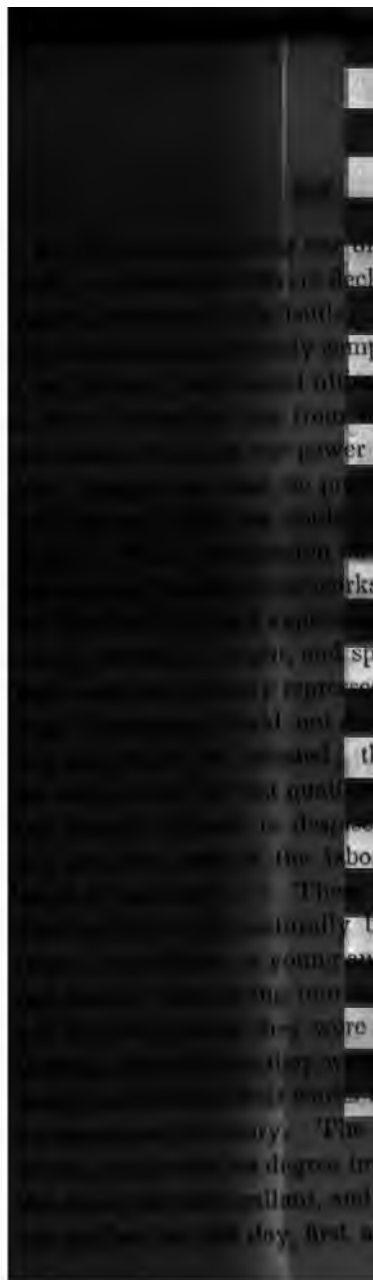
Generals disposed to comply with Washington's orders, given through him. He addressed many letters to Washington on this subject, and in one dated November 12, 1777, he says, "By a letter of yesterday, Gen. Poor informs me he would certainly march this morning. I must do him the justice to say, he appears solicitous to join you, and that I believe the past delay is not owing to any fault of his, *but is wholly chargeable to Gen. Putnam.* Indeed Sir, I owe it to the service to say, *that every part of this gentleman's conduct is marked with blunders and negligence, and gives general disgust.*" Again Hamilton says, "I doubt whether he will attend to any thing I shall say, *notwithstanding it comes in the shape of a positive order.* Col. Hamilton had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from Washington of November 15, 1777, in which he says, "Dear Sir—I have duly received your several favors from the time you left me to that of the 12th instant. I approve entirely of all the steps you have taken, and have only to wish that the exertions of those you have had to deal with had kept pace with your zeal and good intentions." Putnam's disobedience of the orders of Washington, which prevented him from even attempting the capture of Howe, which he had determined to effect, deeply affected his mind; and we find in a letter dated Valley Forge, of March 6, 1778, he thus expresses himself in reference to the command of Rhode Island. "They also know with more certainty than I do, what will be *the determination of Congress respecting Gen. Putnam; and of course whether the appointment of him to such*

ington and Hamilton might be given, but it seems entirely unnecessary. The sole reason for which they are referred to, is to show that Dearborn's declaration that Putnam's "ephemeral and unaccountable popularity, did *subside and fade away*," notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary, is fully supported by the opinions and actions of Adams, Livingston, Washington and Hamilton. Gentlemen, whose opinions, heretofore, and in other cases, have been held in high estimation with their countrymen, and whose words have been justly considered truth.

All accounts previous to that of Dearborn's, which were many, give the command to Prescott, and were silent with regard to Putnam, or censured him. Anonymous writers have been numerous of later times, and their statements variant. Capt. Josiah Cleveland is made to say, "On the retreat, near the causeway, Putnam met with Colonels Gerrish and Poor, with their regiments, whom he reprimanded in the most indignant and fiery terms, for not coming to his support. They excused themselves by saying it was too dangerous to cross the causeway over Bunker's Hill. Putnam replied with an oath, that the balls didn't hit him, and they too might have escaped. These men were afterwards cashiered." Capt. Cleveland was eighty-seven years old, and did not sign this statement; but the editor of the Oswego advertiser says he told him this, and so published it. A sufficient answer to all this is, Colonel Poor was not within ~~17~~ five miles of Bunker's Hill that day, unless Exeter, ~~r~~ Hampshire, is nearer; nor was he ever cashiered,

by Marshall, Ramsey and others, and from an account of the battle I have had from Col. Knowlton's son, who was there, I have no doubt the chief misfortunes of the day may be attributed to the great want of military talents of the commander, Gen. Putnam. Daniel Putnam, (page 3) says : 'two days before the battle of Flatbush, in consequence of the sickness of that excellent officer, Gen. Green, who had commanded on Long Island, Gen. Putnam was ordered to the command of that post, and assisted in the arduous and complicated difficulties of that masterly retreat.' D. Putnam is the only person that I ever heard or read of, who asserted that Gen. Putnam assisted in that masterly retreat. I believe that General Putnam remained in his fortified camp, at Brooklyn, during the battle, while General Sullivan did the fighting without the lines, but he could not retrieve the blunders of Putnam. General Putnam was a plain, industrious, prudent farmer, and, I think, was a brave, honest man, but without talents or other qualifications to constitute a general. I believe it would be difficult at this time to offer any satisfactory reason why he was held in such high estimation by some of the Americans previous to the battle of Breed's Hill."

The writer of the above letter is still living, and wrote without expressing any wish that it should be considered or treated as confidential ; but not having an opportunity of seeing or writing him, on the occasion, before this goes to press, his name is not given at this time. From *Col. Swett's* history of this battle, and he was never suspected of being desirous of supporting Gen. Dearborn



Washington's conduct at Braddock's defeat will not compare with it.

Anonymous writers and village editors have, since Dearborn's account, written and published often repeated statements, to lessen the weight of his account, without facts to support them. One publication appeared in a Boston periodical of 1818, and republished in the "New World," New York, 1841. Who the author was, is unknown. The object is to demolish Dearborn, prevent his being elected Governor of Massachusetts, and excite Gen. Putnam's descendants to resent everything said against their ancestor. He does not doubt *General* Dearborn's "personal veracity," but denies that *General* Dearborn is the person talking; but *Captain* Dearborn. That *General* Dearborn, in 1818, is not bound to relate truly what *Captain* Dearborn saw in 1775, although the *general* and *captain* are one and the same man, not possessing two distinct natures or intelligences. He further says, "General Dearborn probably knows that Col. Prescott and Gen. Putnam kept up a friendly acquaintance during their lives." General Dearborn nor the writer of the above sentence ever had any such knowledge as is implied. Had such been the fact, the writer could have given it, as Prescott and Putnam both had sons living when he wrote. But this fact is assumed to lessen the weight of the uniform and constant statement of Col. Prescott; and no one ever doubted his veracity, "that Putnam's conduct during the action and retreat was such that he ought to have been shot." The writer

Without taking into consideration the weight of testimony in favor of Gen. Dearborn's account, it may well be asked what possible *motive* could he have had for stating a falsehood respecting a transaction which he saw. He was more than sixty-five years of age when he made the statement, had fought his way from a captain to commander-in-chief of the American army, as well as high and important civil offices, without a suspicion against his moral character, patriotism, or capacity. What could induce a man to make shipwreck of such a character?

This has occasioned a pause on the part of his revilers; and in charity to him, they say they are willing to believe he was superannuated and in his dotage. This is mere affectation; for after he wrote his account, he was nominated by President Monroe as a foreign minister, and unanimously approved by the senate; and nearly all of them had known him personally. This office he accepted, and performed all the duties of it to the acceptance of the government. Was Gen. Dearborn now alive, he would have less reason to complain of the treatment he has received than Washington; for the same kind of people openly aver that Washington's fear of Putnam's popularity was so great, that he feared being superceded by him; and that he was a New England man, and therefore he made the statements he did against him. Did Washington ever withhold his confidence in Greene, Lincoln, Knox, or Poor, because they were New England men?

years before his death, was satisfied of his mistake, and said, he believed "Putnam had little or nothing to do with the battle."

With those who will or can, with candor, examine Gen. Dearborn's account, and the evidence in support of it, he will remain the true narrator of an important event of the revolution—the veteran soldier—the honest and upright public servant—entitled to the respect of his countrymen..

THE END.



